BRUARY 8
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NEW MASSES

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LONDON'S POLISH PLAGUE

A cable by Claude Cockburn

THE PLOT AGAINST THE CHURCH

Unmasking the conspiracy of Latin American fascists

by Marion Bachrach

DEVIOUS TOM DEWEY

by Simon W. Gerson

"PEACE NOW"—HITLER TRUMP

by the Editors

Also in This Issue: *Mme. Sun Yat-sen, Helen Keller, Morris U. Schappes, Bruce Minton, Colonel T.*

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

OFF-HAND, wouldn't you say things are moving faster in 1944 than a year ago? The old express train (history's) is picking up speed all the time: Leningrad's siege lifted; Rome's siege begun; the barges readied for that push across channel; 1944's political developments at home rushing on; no need to talk any further—you agree. Consequently, you will agree too, that the pace of NM must speed up; new issues to cope with every week. More to be done, much, much more to be done. And faster. This is by way of introducing our financial appeal this week. Old stuff? Yes, old stuff, as old as breakfast, dinner, and supper. Old, but not to be ignored. A few plain words are necessary at this point. Listen:

The first month of our annual drive has passed; we can estimate its direction, its tempo, and we must draw some conclusions. First: we must warn against any undue optimism over the fact that NM was stronger at the end of its past fiscal year than ever before. We announced the need for $28,000 by May; and $12,000 more—for absolutely imperative promotion—by year's end. $40,000 in all. That $28,000 by May is decisive: without it the whole structure of NM would collapse. We based our cheerful report on the probability that that needed amount would be forthcoming. The probability is there: so far we have raised $3,196 in one month. Last year's first month hit about the same mark—$3,029. And that is the trouble.

Last year's drive in the magazine lasted six long months. The drive continued—outside these pages—for the rest of the year. A long, terrible grind. (Many of you have met our special representative, Doretta Tarmon, and know the hard, weary plugging that goes into raising the full amount needed to top our goal.) This year, in initiating the drive, we asked your assistance to hit the goal in *four* months. Saving that two months' period saves innumerable headaches; saves pages that would be devoted to the appeal; saves time of the editors so that they can get on with their main business, editing and writing, rather than worrying about raising money and taking time out to give Herb Goldfrank a hand.

The pace of the drive, to date, affords no guarantee that the job will be done in 1944 tempo. It still is geared to 1943 time. And that's bad. We should be doing fifty percent better this year than last: we're only even. Not too good.

Our Chicago friends have taken our pleas to heart. They are doing a grand job—the best in the country. The "Friends of NEW MASSES"—as part of their work in the drive—are holding a significant "Interpretation Please" meeting, Sunday, February 13, in the Grand Ballroom of the Hamilton Hotel, 20 S. Dearborn. The subject: "Teheran and the Fate of Nations." The experts: Phil Hanna, business editor of the Chicago *Sun;* Rabbi David Graubart, B'nai Shalom Synagogue; Harvey O'Connor, author and editor, the moderator, and William L. Patterson, assistant director of the Abraham Lincoln School. We invite, urgently, the rest of our readers to match Chicago's zeal.

We know you will come through: we're as certain of that as we are of daylight. But, please help minimize the agony; help us operate at maximum. That means no delay.

Alex Munsell, one of our best friends down in Baltimore, also took our plea to heart. He doubled his contribution this year—sent it on within the drive's first fortnight, with a note which concluded: "It is your scientific approach, coupled with interesting range and practical usefulness of subject matter, which leads me to be both an enthusiastic reader and supporter of your splendid magazine."

We have other similar letters. From soldiers, from seamen, from wives of soldiers. But we don't, as yet, have enough of them. We know there are thousands more who feel the same as Alex Munsell. They have shown that in the past; they will prove it again this year. But too many are inclined to take it easy; to operate, concerning NM, on 1943 tempo. But, as you will admit, 1944 demands a stepped-up speed. So, dear reader—a word to the wise. . . .

Will you please fill out the blank on page 31 and mail it today. Will you?

NO ONE who works on a newspaper or magazine can help but feel a twinge at the death of William Allen White, for nearly fifty years the famous editor and publisher of the Emporia, Kan., *Gazette*. White was one of the foremost representatives of a tradition of vigorous personal journalism that has become all but extinct. A lifelong Republican (save in 1912 when he bolted with Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose), he was a liberal maverick among the staid and elephantine Hardings and Coolidges. In fact, there was a good deal of the old-fashioned Populist in William Allen White, even though he first achieved fame in the nineties with an editorial, "What's the matter with Kansas?" searing the hide off the Populists in his home state.

In other ways too White was the least Republican of the GOP elder statesmen. A completely indigenous product of that part of the country where the isolationist grass-roots are supposed to be particularly lush, backer and adviser of Alf Landon in 1936, he managed to see the world that lay beyond Kansas and the issues that stood above partisan politics. When in 1940 he became chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, it meant a break with the dominant defeatist forces in his own party. But it was always a strain on the intelligence to think of Bill White in the company of the Hoovers and Landons.

NEW MASSES

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Vol. L, No. 6. Published weekly by THE NEW MASSES, Inc., at 104 E. 9th St., New York 3, N. Y. Copyright 1944 THE NEW MASSES, Inc. Reg. U. S. Patent Office, Washington Office, 945 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Drawings text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 23, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $5.00 a year in US and Colo and Mexico. Six months, $2.75; three months, $1.50; Foreign $6.00 a year; six months, $3.25; three months, $1.75. Canada, $6.00 a year; $3.50 for six months, US money, single copies in Canada 20¢; Canadian money. Subscribers notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new wri and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, addressed envelopes. NEW MASSES does not for contributions.

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NEW MASSES

VOL. L FEBRUARY 8, 1944 NO. 6

PLOTTERS AGAINST THE CHURCH

Fascists in Latin America are trying to claim for themselves the authority of the Catholic Church. How the real spokesmen for the Church are answering. By Marion Bachrach.

Not long ago the Bishop of Cienfuegos, His Excellency Eduardo Martinez Dalmau, asked the Cuban labor paper *Hoy* to publish his polemic against Dr. Jose I. Rivero, editor of the fascist paper *Diario de la Marina*. In accepting the high honor of membership in the Cuban Academy of History, the Bishop of Cienfuegos had made a speech on "The colonial policy of the Austrian and Bourbon kings." *Diario de la Marina*, whose editor is generally known as "Pepin" Rivero, scurrilously attacked the Bishop as being an "heretic" and a "Communist." The ensuing debate on "The colonial policy of the Austrian and Bourbon kings" was far from academic. Such debates are being held all over Latin America today, where fascists and falangists are busy revising national and Church history in an effort to lay the theoretical basis for a future shaped to their liking.

The Bishop of Cienfuegos' reply made the discussion of historical questions a vehicle for pointing up the political problems of the day. "The colonial regime," he wrote to Pepin Rivero, "and its disastrous consequences for the economy and cultural life of Cuba, were not the work of the Spanish people, but of the Austrians, and in particular Philip II, who misspent huge sums in interminable wars that brought no profit to the nation. This regime was to the end tragic for the Spanish nation, which paid many times over for the errors of this mistaken policy, as nations often pay for the errors of rulers who oppress them. Such is the case of Germany today."

The Bishop argued that Pepin Rivero, in defending the Spanish colonial regime, had assumed responsibility for its crimes before the Cuban people. "The people," said the Bishop, "will know how to judge you for that." Then the Bishop went to the heart of the matter. "The worst of it is," he wrote, "that through a tricky maneuver you try to involve the Catholic Church and make it equally responsible for these crimes."

Pepin Rivero says that the Catholic Church was one with the colonial regime. That is a slander, said the Bishop of Cienfuegos. The Church rebuked the treatment of the Negroes. Church leaders, both in Spain and in Cuba, refused to "walk arm in arm" with the murderous Spanish commander, General Weyler, and instead "indignantly protested to the Spanish government." The Church condemned the execution of the students and Weyler's "reconcentration" of the country people in garrisoned towns where many died of disease and starvation. All this, the Bishop tells Pepin Rivero, was "to the honor of that Church which your colonial fanaticism and your hatred of Cuba try to destroy."

Then the Bishop brings his history lesson down to date. He boldly denounces the Spanish falangists, citing the charges brought against them by the Cuban National Anti-fascist Front (the organization which has just demanded that the Spanish edition of *Reader's Digest* be banned from the Cuban mails). He identifies himself with the Spanish Republican refugees. The falangists, he says, must be "inexorably expelled from our territory together with all those who forget the interests of the nation in order to put themselves traitorously at the service of a foreign power. . . . With those Spaniards—fascists, totalitarians, imperialists, colonialists, obscurantists, you, Senor Rivero, can agree. I take my stand with the many thousands of good Spaniards, honorable men, workers, who oppose a policy harmful to this country, where they wish to live like what they are—our blood brothers."

The Bishop of Cienfuegos has not been alone among the Catholic hierarchy in defending the Church against Rivero's fascist conspiracy. When the editor of *Diario de la Marina* tried to claim Church sponsorship for a meeting demagogically labelled

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"For the Fatherland and the school," the Bishop says that "All the Bishops of Cuba flatly refused to lend ourselves to your sinister purpose, and the meeting was repudiated by the Cuban people. Then you showed the high consideration due the Cuban episcopate by using a word I could not repeat without offending my readers."

In concluding his letter, the Bishop replied to the charge that he is a Communist. "I understand your displeasure in seeing my name mentioned in the pages of *Hoy*. The Communists know perfectly well that I am not a Communist. But they also know that I do not wish the collapse of Russian resistance or the defeat of the democracies. I wonder if they can speak as well of you."

MANY Catholic leaders rallied around the Bishop of Cienfuegos in this controversy, expressing themselves in the pages of *Hoy*. Anibal Escalante, the paper's editor, wrote a letter of congratulation to the Bishop. "Pepin violently attacks the Communists," Escalante said, "because the Communists defend the people, progress, liberty, morality. But Pepin does not attack only the Communists. Pepin attacks and will attack *all* who oppose his reactionary aims, his corruption, the privileges he represents. . . . You, Senor Bishop, are a Cuban. You were and are for the independence of the Fatherland, for progress, for liberty. As a good Christian, you, Senor Bishop, are an anti-fascist. You were and are against the tyrannies of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco. . . . Do not therefore be surprised that a self-styled 'Catholic' (clearly a false Christian) vilely attacks you. Many more attacks will be made against you, against the Pope, against any other Catholic who defends the peoples in this historic period of transition to a better world."

There are others like the Bishop of Cienfuegos in Latin America, many others, some of them parish priests, some lay Catholic leaders, some the most authoritative heads of their Church. Although they give the best answer to fascists like Pepin Rivero who falsely claim for themselves the right to speak for the Church, their words have not been published in the American press. It is time we listened to them—they speak very well for themselves.

There is the Catholic priest Marcos Moya Ramirez of Antofagasta, Chile, who gave an interview last September to the Chilean Communist paper *El Siglo* in connection with Hitler's persecution of the Italian clergy. He said: "This is Hitler's last hope of distracting the attention of the Allies and preventing the opening of the second front in Europe." Asked what effect Hitler's virtual imprisonment of the Pope would have in Chile, Father Moya Ramirez replied, "Those who until yesterday doubted, today must understand that Nazism is the real enemy of religion. Especially those who, being religious, supported the Nazis because they relentlessly persecuted the Masons, and especially the 'Bolsheviks.' . . . A section of the Conservative Party of our country supported the Nazi position, but today we can say that the only injury the religious people of the world have suffered has been from the Nazis. In contrast, the government of the Soviet Union, in reply to the crimes committed by Hitler and the persecution of the Pope, has given the orthodox Church full guarantees of freedom to carry on its religious work. Thus it demonstrated to the whole world, and to these doubters, that the danger for religion is Nazism and not Communism."

Father Moya Ramirez also had something to say about Franco, and about the campaign carried on by Chilean labor to stop the shipment of copper to Spain: "The democratic groups of our country are absolutely correct. Everybody knows that Franco contracted serious obligations to fascism from the beginning of the Spanish war. It is for this reason that Spain today suffers the great influence of the German Nazis. . . . I know that a great quantity of Argentine wheat is going to Germany through Spain."

Father Moya Ramirez is a parish priest. But what of his superior, the Bishop of Antofagasta, Msgr. Arturo Mery? Monsignor Mery expressed his faith that the Moscow Conference held out the hope that the "world can live through happier days when the peace comes." And he added, "The Church will know how to respect all governments democratically constituted, be they socialist or Communist, or of any other political or religious stripe."

Design for a war poster by Tromka.

THE Most Reverend Victor Sanabria, Catholic Archbishop of San Jose, Costa Rica, has become an international cause celebre. A brief dispatch in the New York *Times*, datelined San Jose, December 24, reads: "The Guatemalan press has renewed its attacks against the President and also the Archbishop of Costa Rica, calling them Communists as a result of their approval of liberal labor laws passed recently. Today the Archbishop published a note in the newspaper *Tribuna* in which he asserted that the Guatemalan Minister to Costa Rica refused him a visa to permit him to attend the recent Eucharistic Congress in Guatemala, to which he was a delegate."

The Costa Rican Congress has considered repealing the law which prohibits press criticism of friendly governments, in order that an appropriate reply may be made to the Guatemalan attacks, and there has even been talk of recalling the Costa Rican Minister. Msgr. Victor Sanabria is a very popular man in his own country. A consistent supporter of the progressive labor and international policy of President Calderon Guardia, he also gave his permission for Catholics to cooperate with Communists when the latter reorganized their party and merged it in the broad working-class party known as *Vanguardia Popular*.

Monsignor Sanabria is known and beloved beyond the borders of his own country. When Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Latin American Confederation of Workers (CTAL), with headquarters in Mexico, recently attended a labor congress in Costa Rica, he told a big mass meeting, "I want it to be known that the Confederation of Latin American Workers renders homage to the Archbishop of San Jose, Msgr. Victor Sanabria, for his attitude toward the reform of the nation's Constitution. . . . This head of the Catholic Church deserves the respect of Latin America." A spokesman for the archbishop was present and responded warmly, saying, "For the CTAL, the archbishop would take a flower from his garden and gladly place it in the lapel of the CTAL's president."

EARLY last year the government of President Alfonso Lopez in Colombia signed a concordat with the Vatican, formally recognizing the separation of church and state while guaranteeing the Church full liberty of action in its own domain. At that time the Pope removed from office the Archbishop of Colombia, whose political ties with the Nazi-falangist party of Laureano Gomez had become a national scandal. Laureano Gomez' paper, *El Siglo* —the Colombian counterpart of *Social Justice*—insolently attacked both the new archbishop and the Pope himself as "heretics" and "leftists." Since then Laureano Gomez and his follows have been campaigning for the repudiation of the con-

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cordat and the re-establishment of a state church.

The papal nuncio in Bogota, Monsignor Silvani, and the new Archbishop of Colombia have joined President Lopez' government supporters and trade union and popular leaders in combatting Laureano Gomez, who was largely responsible for the government crisis during which the president came to this country. A Catholic paper, *El Catolicismo*, carries on the fight against the falangist *El Siglo* and supports the government. Many public meetings have been held, with the papal nuncio and the archbishop sharing the platform with cabinet ministers and the people's leaders. At one of these meetings a little group of Gomez followers hissed the nuncio. Then they shouted their slogan of insurrection against the Vatican and, referring to the deposed archbishop, cried "Long live the Pope of Colombia!"

THERE is a fascist dictatorship in Argentina. The dictatorship has moved inevitably and logically from persecution of the Communists to suppression of the labor movement, the burning of books, dismissal of all democratic government employees and university professors, suppression of all democratic parties, strict censorship of the press. It has just ordered compulsory Catholic instruction in all the schools. Does that mean that it has the support of the Catholic masses and of the Catholic hierarchy? The majority of the overwhelmingly democratic people of Argentina, who oppose the Ramirez dictatorship, are Catholics. It is not easy to hear, through the terrible silence imposed by fascism, the authentic voice of the Catholic masses or the clergy. But last October the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Monsignor Andrade, wrote an article which the press was forbidden to publish. One sentence from that article has reached us: "Authority without liberty is despotism." It would seem that perhaps Ramirez, like Pepin Rivero and Laureano Gomez and others, is trying to vest himself with the authority of the Church he betrays.

THAT is what the Sinarchists and *Accion Nacional* have been trying to do in Mexico. That is what they tried to do when they organized a political demonstration against the Camacho government, disguised as a "religious pilgrimage" to the Basilica of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The National Sinarchist Union was founded on May 23, 1937, in the city of Leon, in Gunajuato, Mexico. Its sponsors were two active Spanish falangists, the Olivares brothers, directed by the Nazi engineer, Hellmuth Oskar Schreiter. *Accion Nacional* is the political party of the Sinarchists, of the Falange and the Nazi fifth column in Mexico. *Accion Nacional* and the National Sinarchist Union do not advertise their origin. On the contrary, they falsely

"I believe, according to some Polish gentlemen in London, that I am to non-co-operate with you — welcome comrade
RED ARMY
Guerilla
Gabrial

London Daily Worker

claim to be spokesmen for the Catholic Church. And for obvious reasons: Mexico is at war with the Axis; Mexico never submitted to the policy of "non-intervention" and has never recognized the Franco government in Spain; Mexico has opened its doors and extended its hospitality to the Spanish Republican refugees—the people and the government of Mexico are and have been consistent anti-fascists.

So Mexico's fifth column carries on its anti-war, anti-Camacho, and anti-United Nations propaganda not in the name of Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco—but in the name of the Catholic Church. Today it is trying to provoke government measures which it will call "religious persecutions," "justifying" armed uprisings against the Camacho administration. All the responsible leaders of Mexico are aware of the danger. The Confederation of Mexican Workers, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, peasant leaders and intellectuals, and spokesmen for the Camacho government have sounded repeated warnings. Just recently these groups joined in establishing the National Committee for Struggle Against Reaction, the broadest and strongest organization yet to come forward in defense of Mexican democracy.

The head of the Catholic Church of Mexico, Archbishop Luis M. Martinez, was obliged last November to repudiate officially any responsibility for the National Sinarchist Union and *Accion Nacional*. The Church, the archbishop said, "does not associate itself with the opinions and tendencies of Catholic writers and speakers, because the voice of the Church is expressed only through its official organs." Monsignor Martinez also declared that the Church "is ready to collaborate sincerely and efficiently with the civil government" and that "in these moments when Mexico is engaged in a great war which signalizes a new path for human history, it is inopportune and unpatriotic to stir up discussions which, however important they may seem, divide Mexicans."

A whole year earlier, in its Nov. 7, 1942, issue, the fifth column paper *Omega* had followed the pattern of Rivero in Cuba and of Laureano Gomez in Colombia, by attacking the Church itself. Under the eight-column head "INEXPLICABLE FRIENDSHIP OF THE CATHOLIC CLERGY WITH BLOODY AND ODIOUS BOLSHEVISM," *Omega* lashed out particularly against American Catholic supporters of President Roosevelt. "All the belligerents are guilty, no one of them is justified; furthermore the clergy has made common cause with the most odious and infamous—with the democrats and the Bolsheviks . . . [of whom] the worst of all is Roosevelt. . . . Why should the priests let themselves be seduced by the wanton Roosevelt and all his miserable satraps in Latin America?" These are the people who are organizing to overthrow the government of President Camacho, who are inciting the peasant youth to resist induction, and who project for Mexico and for all the Americas a "New Christian Order" in which a fascist state will seize power in the name of the very Church whose existence, along with that of all liberty, it threatens.

For these "Catholics" the fountainhead of the Church is not the Vatican, but the Coughlinite and Christian Front centers in the United States. They were recently emboldened by Msgr. Fulton Sheen, who

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repaid Mexican hospitality by calling for a Mexican "revolution" when he returned to the United States. The chairman of the Defense Committee of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, Salvador Ochoa Rentiria, was one of the many government and labor leaders who vigorously protested against Monsignor Sheen's subversive remarks. "It is evident that the opinions expressed by Sheen are the result of information given him during his stay in Mexico by Sinarchist elements that are enemies of the present government," Senor Ochoa said.

It was in this tense atmosphere, heavy with the threat of civil war, that Vicente Lombardo Toledano only a few weeks ago spoke to thousands of Mexicans gathered in the Zocalo, the great public square outside the Presidential Palace. The whole country, he said, is asking whether there is a conflict between the Mexican Revolution and religion, whether to be a good Catholic one must fight the Mexican Revolution, the Independence, the Reform, the policies of Cardenas and Camacho—and whether, to be a good revolutionary, an anti-fascist, and a supporter of the government, one must fight one's brother Catholics.

Lombardo emphatically denied that such a choice faces the Mexican people. "Who," asked Lombardo, "made the Revolution of Independence? The Mexicans, the Catholic Mexicans. In that period there were none but Catholic Mexicans. Who led the Revolution of Independence? Was it not a Catholic priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, who was its captain? Who gave voice, program, direction, historical importance to the Revolution of Independence? Was it not another priest, Jose Maria Morelos y Pavon?

"And who led and made the Revolution of the Reform, which separated state and church, which decided that the Church should be an institution permitted full liberty under the law, in so far as the Church is an association of faithful, of believers? Who guaranteed liberty of conscience? Who, if not the authors of the Constitution of 1857? Benito Juarez was a believer, was a Catholic, and the masses who followed him, the *chinacos*, the men of the people, the peasants, the artisans who became soldiers and fought with the Indian of Oaxaca to drive out the French invader—all were Catholics and believers, defenders of the Fatherland."

A false dilemma, said Lombardo, has been posed by the Sinarchists—and repeated by "some fanatic Jacobins." And Lombardo concluded by telling the cheering thousands in the Zocalo, "It is a lie that to be Catholic one must fight the Mexican Revolution; that to be Catholic one must oppose the war of the Reform; that to be Catholic it is necessary to combat the Revolution of Independence. In the same way it is false to think that to be a revolutionary one must fight the Catholics. This also is a lie."

And in much the same spirit Archbishop Martinez, having repudiated the Sinarchists, pointed the way to the unity of all Mexican patriots, the alternative to the conflict being incited by Mexico's internal enemies. In an interview published last October in the conservative magazine *Asi*, Monsignor Martinez said, "An ideological reconciliation between the Communists and Catholics is impossible. But it is not only possible, it is urgent, that Catholics and Communists, recognizing their common interests, work together for the good of the Fatherland."

WE HAVE heard a great deal in this country about the Falange and the Sinarchists and the "New Christian Order." We know that most of our 130,000,000 neighbors in Latin America are Catholics. But I think we have listened too much and too long to the Latin American Coughlins and Sheens, so that we have failed to hear the true voice of the Latin American Catholics even when they speak with the authority of archbishops. Least of all at this critical moment for inter-American unity do I wish to minimize the dangers of Sinarchism and the "New Christian Order" movement. It is because those dangers are so real and present that Latin American patriots welcome the aid of the Bishop of Cienfuegos, Archbishop Sanabria of San Jose, and such parish priests as Father Marcos Moya Ramirez of Antofagasta. The American State Department and the American labor movement can learn much from these true Catholics.

Are we hesitant to treat Hitler's agents in Spain as the enemies they are, because that would "offend Catholic Latin America?" Pepin Rivero would cry out against us, to be sure. But he has been, is, and will remain our enemy. The Bishop of Cienfuegos, who wants to see the falangists "inexorably expelled" from Cuban soil, would be more than ever our friend. Are we tender with Charles Coughlin, the Christian Fronters, Monsignor Sheen, because the Catholics in Latin America would raise the cry of "religious persecution" in the United States? That cry will come not from Catholics, but only from fascist groups like the Sinarchists, whose waning fortunes are bolstered by the support they draw from their counterparts in this country.

ARE sections of our labor movement repelled and frightened by the anti-clerical pronouncements of Latin American labor leaders? Our trade unionists, especially our Catholic trade unionists among whom are some of the most progressive leaders in our national life, should understand that Lombardo Toledano and his Latin American colleagues consistently fight for freedom of religion and respect for Catholic believers. In unmasking the fascists who in the name of the Church conspire against all democratic forms, Latin American labor fights for the only kind of world in which the Church itself can survive. Understanding this, our labor movement will find it easier to remove all existing obstacles to hemisphere trade union unity. And by speaking out against the provocations of a Monsignor Sheen they will help the Latin American unions to defeat the "New Christian Order" conspiracy.

Nor does Red-baiting win Catholic friends for us below the Rio Grande. Exceptional laws directed against Communists exist only in those Latin American countries which are openly fascist, like Argentina, or where, as in Paraguay, Ecuador, and the Central American states, domestic policy still remains in contradiction to official foreign policy and thereby retards the full implementation of the war effort. The Archbishop of San Jose answered the Red-baiting press of Guatemala by saying, "If there had been newspapers in the time of Jesus Christ, no doubt they would have called him a Communist too."

Fascism in Latin America, already persuaded of Hitler's imminent defeat, orients itself to the disruption of the agreements reached at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran after the war is won. It is the Catholics in the Latin American hierarchy, already working with the labor and progressive forces for victory, who will best help us all realize the promise of a just and stable peace held forth to the world by Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill. The working unity of all democratic forces within some Latin American nations, including the Catholics and the Communists, is no shot-gun wedding. It was forged in lands far removed from the blood and destruction of actual battle. It should strengthen our faith that the brotherhood of all men of good will, everywhere in the world, can and will endure.

MARION BACHRACH.

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THE READERS ASK

Further questions and answers on Earl Browder's recent report and the actions of the Communist Party's National Committee.

QUESTION: ***Don't the new Communist proposals require class collaboration, something which Marxists have always condemned?***

THE term "class collaboration" has always been used by Marxists to describe acts and policies by which the working class furthers the interests of the capitalists to the detriment of its own. This applies not only to the economic sphere, but to the whole gamut of political activity. For example, the support of the imperialist World War I by right-wing Socialist and trade union leaders was a crass example of class collaboration and betrayal. In this Marxist sense there is not an iota of class collaboration in the new Communist proposals. On the contrary, these proposals are entirely in the interests of the workers and the people as a whole. That they would also further the interests of the capitalists in the postwar period is a peculiarity of the historical situation. Let us consider what that situation will be.

As a result of the military destruction of the Axis, the reactionary, pro-fascist elements of big business in all countries—as distinguished from the patriotic elements which are dominant in the United States and Britain—will have suffered defeat and a decline in influence. In Europe there will undoubtedly be an upsurge of democratic self-determination such as the Continent has not known since the revolutionary struggles of 1848. Out of the war there will also emerge a coalition of the two leading capitalist countries, the semi-colonial colossus of China and the powerful land of socialism as the principal guarantors of peace and reconstruction on the basis of the Teheran program. Under those circumstances what would be the principal strategy of reaction? It would be to break up the coalition and to disrupt any semblance of united support for the Teheran program within each of the United Nations. It is obvious that the forces of progress ought to pursue a strategy that is the reverse: the strengthening of the four-power coalition and of national unity. This is the requirement of a situation that is new and unprecedented. However, there have been other situations in the past in which the cause of democracy and progress also required the collaboration of capitalists and workers.

In the great classic of Marxism, the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels made clear that Communists do not under all circumstances reject the cooperation of workers with other classes, including the bourgeoisie. Outlining the position of the Communists toward other groups in various countries, the *Manifesto* stated: "In Germany they [the Communists] fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie." And in the German revolution that broke out shortly after the publication of the *Manifesto*, Marx became one of the leaders of a broad democratic united front in Cologne which included his own Democratic Association as well as the Association of Employers and Employes.

In the American Civil War Marx and Engels gave active support to Lincoln's bourgeois government and did everything in their power to strengthen the alliance of industrialists, free farmers, and workers that was the backbone of the North. In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 Marx and Engels sharply criticized Wilhelm Liebknecht for adopting an attitude of neutrality. They called for support of the war so long as it remained a defensive struggle that furthered the national unification of Germany, though this meant supporting the government of Bismarck and the monarch who became Kaiser Wilhelm I. In every situation the founders of Marxism determined their attitude not by rigid dogmas and academic formulas, but by the single principle of doing whatever was necessary to advance democracy and socialism. This was the principle that also animated their greatest disciples, Lenin and Stalin. Lenin repeatedly attacked those "infantile leftists" who opposed compromise and agreement with other classes. In an article, "On Slogans," in July 1917 he wrote that "*for the good of the cause* the proletariat will support not only the vacillating petty bourgeoisie, but also the big bourgeoisie." (Emphasis in original.)

Today the American Marxist, Earl Browder, declares that for the good of the cause represented by Teheran, the cause of peace, stability, and democratic progress, which, he believes, will ultimately lead to socialism, there ought to be created a nationwide coalition of "all classes and groups, with the working people as the main base, from the big bourgeoisie to the Communists."

QUESTION: ***Have the rank and file of the Communist Party been consulted in regard to the proposals in Mr. Browder's speech?***

IN THE deepest sense, in the actual relations that exist between the leaders and the members of the Communist Party, there is constant consultation on all questions, and decisions on policy grow out of the experience of the Party members, of the labor movement, of the American people as a whole. But let us not confuse democracy with those primitive concepts that would mean its stultification. President Roosevelt does not conduct a national referendum on the proposals he makes, nor does Philip Murray lead the CIO in that fashion. When the recent meeting of the Democratic National Committee endorsed the President for a fourth term, it took no formal vote of the party's membership or voters. But there is no doubt that this decision expressed the overwhelming sentiment not only of the Democratic rank and file, but of the labor movement and many people's organizations.

The Communist Party holds a national convention every two years. Delegates are elected by state and district conventions whose delegates in turn are elected by the lower bodies of the Party, including its branches and clubs. For two months prior to the national convention discussions take place in all Party organizations on the problems before the convention. The rank and file can adopt resolutions and amendments to any draft resolutions that the National Committee may draw up for consideration by the convention. The convention decisions, adopted by majority vote, are binding on all Party members. The convention also elects the Party leadership: a national committee, a chairman, and a general secretary. The National Committee, composed of members from all parts of the country, meets at least once every four months. According to the Party constitution, adopted in 1938, "The National Committee represents the Party as a whole, and has the right to make decisions with full authority on any problem facing the Party between conventions." To carry on its day-to-day work it elects from among its members a smaller body, the Political Committee, which meets once a week.

The report made by Earl Browder to the recent meeting of the National Committee was not pulled out of a hat. It was first discussed in the Political Committee and was a product of its collective deliberation. The report was then unanimously endorsed by the meeting of the National Committee, to which

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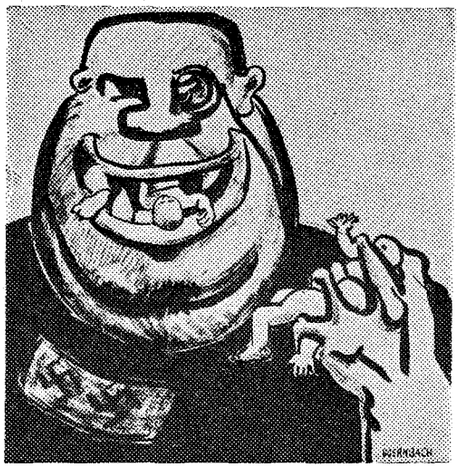

Portrait of a Nazi

there were also invited some two hundred other Party leaders, who likewise gave it their unanimous approval. The policy embodied in the report consequently becomes binding on the Party membership. The National Committee also decided that this report be the basis of the pre-convention discussion. This discussion has already begun, with every member entitled to a full and free expression of his opinion. The convention itself, which will be held in May, can accept, modify, or reject the new policy; it can continue or change the Party's present leadership. The convention will also act on a proposal to change the Party name so that it ceases to function as a party and becomes a Marxist political and educational association.

All this is thoroughly democratic and compares favorably with the procedure followed in other democratic organizations. There is, however, this difference, and it is a difference that strengthens the democratic character of the Communist Party: more than the members of any other organization the members of the Communist Party are involved in a large variety of people's activities and are in close touch with the people's needs and desires. More than the leaders of any other organization the leaders of the Communist Party are in constant dynamic contact with their own members and with the common people from whose ranks they have sprung. And more than the ideology of any other movement does the ideology of Communism require the consistent, scientific development of democracy in all phases of human activity.

QUESTION: ***Can socialism be introduced by peaceful means?***

MARXISTS have never ignored the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism. That possibility depends totally upon the full complex of conditions in any given period. History writes the ticket, and it is historical necessity which determines whether the use of force is required to attain progress, or to defend it. No honest patriot will deny that the use of force is imperative today, to defeat and to obliterate utterly the world peril of fascsim. Nor will any patriot deny that force is imperative today, to defeat and to utterly obliterate the armed uprising of the slavocracy, to defend the Union.

But the possibility of achieving a fundamental social transformation by peaceful means was never denied by the exponents of Marxism. The writings of Marxist authorities afford indubitable proof of this. Lenin—after the overthrow of the Czarist regime—saw the possibility of the peaceful development of the proletarian revolution, and labored zealously for it. Several times between the March revolution and November he wrote of the possibility. The opportunity presented itself in the period before the July Days—before counter-revolution could consolidate its scattered strength and bid for the capture of state power. At that time he saw that the "passing of power" was possible in a peaceful way, "without civil war, because at that time there had been no systematic acts of violence against the masses, against the people, as there were after July 17." Had the soviets achieved power then, the complex of forces was such, he felt, that "peaceful forward development of the whole revolution" was possible. This was written on Sept. 1, 1917.

And it was not the only time he wrote of this perspective. As late as October 9, on the very eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, he saw the chance—had the soviets taken power—of a peaceful development of the revolution, of "peaceful elections of the deputies by the people, a peaceful struggle of the parties inside the soviets, a testing of the programs of various parties in practice, a peaceful passing of power from one party to another." True, as Lenin wrote on September 14, concerning a similar period, the moment for the perspective was brief. "Perhaps this is already impossible," he said. "Perhaps. But if there is even one chance in a hundred, the attempt at realizing such a possibility would still be worth while."

Clearly then, this champion of socialism did not ignore the chance—even if it were "one in a hundred"—to realize the peaceful development of the proletarian revolution. It so happened that a few days later events changed rapidly and totally altered the above perspective. Yet Lenin did not consign these ideas to oblivion. He saw to it that they were published and he wrote: "Yes, to all appearances the days when by chance the road of peaceful development became possible have already passed. All that remains is to send these notes to the editor with the request to have them entitled 'Belated Thoughts.' Even belated thoughts are perhaps at times not devoid of interest."

We can read those "belated thoughts" today, in light of the world perspectives since Teheran, and heartily agree that they are not "devoid of interest." Lenin was not the first to see the chance of peaceful progress to a classless society: Marx, before him, had written in a similar vein. Frederick Engels, in his preface to the first English translation of *Das Kapital*, in 1886, wrote: "Surely, at such a moment, the voice ought to be heard of a man whose whole theory is the result of a life-long study of the economic history and condition of England, and whom that study led to the conclusion that, at least in Europe, England is the only country where the inevitable social revolution might be effected entirely by peaceful and legal means." Earlier, Marx had spoken of a similar possibility in the United States.

As has been pointed out, there can be no guarantees. Earl Browder, replying to an Australian journalist who interviewed him on his report, said, "There is something still hiding in the elements of history." But, Browder insisted, "It has within it, one can say definitely, the potentialities of eventually bringing about a peaceful transition to socialism not envisaged in this generation."

This, then, is the basic fact: the Teheran perspective makes possible a long period of peaceful relations throughout the world; a period which bears the promise of the flowering of democratic rights globally; a time wherein the overwhelming majority of mankind can, mutually, eliminate the most glaring of their age-old economic, social, and political problems.

Mankind yearns for this perspective; it has paid for it in advance with torrents of blood and tears in this just war to destroy utterly the evil coalition of fascism; for the pro-Teheran promise depends totally, of course, upon the elimination of the fascist ascendancy. Another token of great promise is the full emergence of the Soviet Union. It will, tomorrow, in the postwar world, be of incalculable significance for progress, as it is today in the course of the war. Its complete acceptance in the family of nations is a factor of transcendent importance toward winning world stability and harmony.

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DEVIOUS TOM DEWEY

Riddle of the Albany Sphinx and the presidential candidacy: will he have a chance to run? Silence on foreign policy doesn't erase his '40 pronouncements.

GOVERNOR THOMAS E. DEWEY is fast earning the title of "The man nobody quite knows." If Henry Clay went down as the "Great Compromiser," young Thomas has fairly earned his footnote in history as the "Great Evader." One slick-paper magazine writer recently referred to him as the "Great Albany Enigma." How other newspapermen characterize him is not a fit subject for a family publication. Most of the current annoyance with the Governor arises from his exasperating political coyness. Is he or isn't he a candidate for President, is the question assiduously discussed in the various bistros and hotel rooms where the genus politician makes his habitat. This writer has no way of knowing the precise answer, but can only pass along the information that among the initiate he is regarded as quite definitely a candidate who, at the present writing, is vigorously engaged in working on a two-way formula.

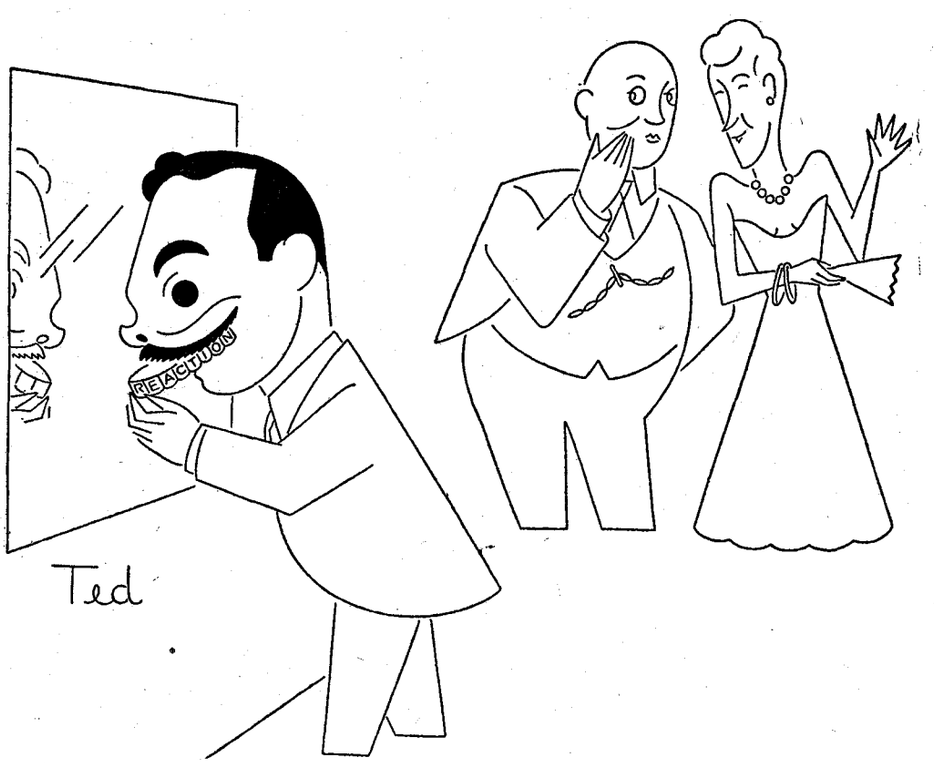
The scheme seems to run something like this: The Governor's henchmen are promoting a Draft Dewey movement. If the Governor and his advisers regard the moment as propitious and the demand as "overwhelming," he will gracefully "accede" to the clamor of the people. Under those circumstances he can then repeat the story his office has skillfully unloosed to the effect that to reject the nomination would be "treason" to the nation. If, however, the political tea leaves seem to read badly, Dewey can always fall back on his post-election statement in 1942 when he spoke of his four-year contract with the people of New York.

The mechanics of Dewey's pre-convention maneuverings are a study for the close observer of the American political scene and will no doubt serve as the basis for many interesting memoirs. At this time, however, their importance lies in the fact that his ambiguous position permits him to keep silent on vital international and national questions. Opponents now have little to shoot at and something of a political microscope is necessary to discover Dewey's essential positions. How does Dewey stand on the all-important question of full collaboration with our allies during the war and afterwards, as enunciated in the Teheran and Cairo declarations and the Moscow Pact? On this, deponent knoweth not since there is nothing in the record directly on which to base a judgment. Dewey's one pronouncement on the subject—and that by indirection—was at Mackinac Island last year, when he bawled lustily for an Anglo-American alliance, graciously acknowledging that the Soviet Union and China might be accommodated later on. After that one kicked back, Mr. Dewey maintained a discreet silence.

A CLUE to his political thinking, however, is furnished by his associates and advisers. It is by no means accidental that twenty-four hours after Alfred Landon, Old Guard Republican presidential candidate in 1936, let loose a blast against Teheran, Dewey conferred with him and posed for newspaper pictures with Mr. Landon's hand, symbolically enough, on the young Governor's shoulder. On the day before the Landon meeting, Dewey conferred with Herbert Hoover. He quite evidently has the support of both these worthies and Landon said so out loud. Queried recently by a newspaperman about his attitude on Teheran, Dewey referred his questioner to his 1942 gubernatorial program where, in general phrases, the New York Republicans supported the war and postwar collaboration. However, one will hunt in vain in Dewey's speeches for any philippics against fascism, Hitler, or the Axis. Neither in his 1943 nor 1944 message to the Legislature did he mention any of those words.

Most revealing of all is Dewey's record in respect to our fighting ally, the Soviet Union. While this has been noted in NEW MASSES before (May 4, 1943), it is well to emphasize again that Dewey has never, by word or act, retreated an inch from his programmatic anti-Soviet position expressed on Jan. 20, 1940, in a speech before a Republican women's group in New York. Attacking the Roosevelt administration, Dewey at that time said: "It has recently been revealed that within the past year the administration seriously considered still another deal with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. In a futile attempt to avert war, it actually explored the possibilities of a fantastic partnership with Russia. . . . We need no such partnerships. . . ."

Dewey, who has never attacked our relations with Franco Spain and Mannerheim Finland, went even further in that speech, in which he assailed even *recognition* of the Soviet Union: "Insofar as the present administration has adhered to the policies of its predecessors, it has met with the general approval of the American people. But it has occasionally strayed from the path. A conspicuous and most unfortunate departure was the recognition by the



"Herbert Hoover broke 'em in for Tom."

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New Deal of Soviet Russia." This takes on new meaning when it is recalled that from Harding through Coolidge and Hoover, Republican national administrations refused to recognize Russia. It was only in 1933, a few months after the inauguration of the Roosevelt administration, that diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union were undertaken. In view of the fact that Dewey has not seen fit to change the record, a reasonable assumption exists that the Governor is still profoundly anti-Soviet. His nomination by the Republican Party, therefore, can only be regarded as an attempt to reverse the present administration's policies towards our most powerful ally.

There is good reason to believe that Dewey is playing with domestic anti-Soviet groups. (Here, I am not referring to any subterranean alliance with the anti-Soviet, Red-baiting David Dubinsky group in the American Labor Party of New York State. This forms a separate and curious story in itself.) Dewey's representatives are busily working among the not inconsiderable Polish-American voting bloc in the state. It is not accidental that in 1943 Dewey signed the bill incorporating the so-called Mercy Ships to Poland, Inc., an organization led by M. Wegrzynek, the publisher of the bitterly anti-Soviet *Nowy Swiat*. While many occasions have presented themselves, Governor Dewey has not found it necessary to lend any encouragement to our Soviet ally.

On domestic questions, Dewey is somewhat cautious. He has been among the first to echo the National Association of Manufacturers line attacking necessary federal regulations as threats to free enterprise. Dewey has also fallen back on the "return to normalcy" slogan. He and his assistants are now busily engaged in building up the legend that Dewey is an able and economical administrator. His great coup in this respect was the "locking up" of the $140,000,000 state surplus in a Postwar Reconstruction Fund, a stunt designed to prove to hard-headed businessmen all over the country that the Albany sphinx is a sound fellow, entirely capable of balking the demands of various groups for socially necessary expenditures.

But Dewey is wily enough to know that the country wants more than a Cal Coolidge with a mustache. Hence, he regularly dons his shining armor and goes forth as the racket-busting Sir Galahad to slay the dragons of corruption. Just now he has a three-ring investigation going on in Albany County designed to destroy the effectiveness of the Democratic organization led by Dan O'Connell. Curiously enough, he has not seen fit to investigate racketeering in Republican-controlled Westchester County where labor racketeers donated substantial sums to Republican campaigns. When an extraordinary grand jury working out of Newburgh, Orange County, made moves to involve certain figures across the river in Westchester, they discovered a cooling of anti-racketeering ardor in Albany. Att'y-Gen. Nathaniel L. Goldstein, a Dewey cabinet member, "closed the Newburgh investigation office and transferred it to New York City," the New York *Times* reported (Jan. 22, 1944). Further, the *Times* wrote: "Since December 1 the extraordinary grand jury has worked without the assistance of the Attorney General's aides. Observers said this may account for the fact that copies of its report were not sent to Governor Dewey or Mr. Goldstein."

Specialists in the subject insist that Dewey the Good Administrator, is a myth. They point out that he has failed to name a State Housing Commissioner despite the fact that he has been in office for thirteen months, and that he wasted nearly a year before appointing a new Labor Commissioner. They are equally vehement in debunking the legend of Dewey the Good Government Man. They point to a whole slew of out-and-out political appointments made by Dewey, particularly in the lucrative positions that rarely come to public attention. Typical of scores of others was the recent appointment of John M. Christensen as executive secretary of the State Athletic Commission. Mr. Christensen, according to the New York *Times* (Jan. 4, 1944), is little known in boxing circles." However, Mr. Christensen is a rather important ward-heeler and must be taken care of at $5,000 a year. Dewey is taking no chances on dissatisfaction from the clubhouse boys. He wields patronage power ruthlessly and will make every effort to line up the ninety-four New York delegates to the Republican National Convention—and keep them in line.

Here he is faced with his great opponent, Wendell Willkie, whose strength lies primarily among the rank and file Republicans. Willkie has but slight machine support in New York (Onondaga County, etc.). On the whole, the leaders are terrorized by the thought of losing patronage. Willkie forces are not seeking an open break with the Governor, but are driving for a few New York delegates as a nucleus, and may have at least one showdown on primary day, March 28, when delegates to the national convention will be elected.

Where the Governor treads lightly is on the matter of organized labor. He has followed a consistent policy of wooing the state leadership of the American Federation of Labor, while his office has instigated outrageous smears of CIO leaders like Sidney Hillman. He has studiously avoided any attack on John L. Lewis, while cultivating labor leaders of the Woll-Hutcheson-Dubinsky stripe. Dewey's technique in respect to social and labor legislation is interesting. Avoiding any direct attack on the social gains of labor, he prefers to chisel away under the slogan of "streamlining." Thus, for example, his State Economic Commission, in an as yet unpublished report, will propose the "reorganization" of the Division of Women in Industry of the Department of Labor, a division which has considerable to do with the maintenance of minimum wage boards for such sweatshop industries as laundry, candy, etc., in which 153,000 workers, mostly women and minors, are employed. Labor leaders familiar with the "reorganization" plans insist that they will actually destroy minimum wage guarantees in a number of industries.

Despite frantic efforts by high-pressure publicists to paint Dewey as something of a liberal or enlightened conservative, his essential political character becomes especially clear as one examines his heartless attitude towards the case of Morris U. Schappes, anti-fascist school teacher convicted during the wave of anti-Communist hysteria typified in New York by the Rapp-Coudert witch hunt in the school system. Dewey was then district attorney of New York County and it was his office which prosecuted Schappes. While Schappes was nominally being tried on charges of "perjury"—admitting to the existence of only five Communist teachers at City College rather than fifty or so as demanded by the prosecution—it was clear that the district attorney's office was more interested in putting Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Communism, the Soviet government, etc., on trial. Recently, the petty vindictiveness of the Dewey administration became evident in the obviously punitive transfer of Schappes from Sing Sing, thirty-five miles from New York, to Dannemora, a prison for hardened offenders 500 miles from the city.

Dewey's relations with the national administration have been carefully hostile, although he prefers to avoid coming into direct grips with Washington. Despite consistent demands that he urge Republican congressmen from New York to back the subsidy program and a federally-supervised soldiers' vote, Dewey has not lifted a finger on either question. His principal contribution to solving the question of food production was the stimulation of a feed-shortage scare which promptly exploded in his face.

This is the man who is and isn't the candidate for the Republican nomination for president of the United States. From this vantage point one thing seems clear: Dewey represents the Hoovers, Landons, Hearsts, and du Ponts, the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital. These are the forces which would lead the country back to Hooverism. They would turn their backs on Teheran. And the road from Teheran leads only to Munich—and chaos.

S. W. Gerson.

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MINORITIES, UNITE!

Morris Schappes in recent speech to Boston Jewish leaders before beginning his prison term urges broad alliances to fight anti-Semitism and all racism.

Shortly before he went to jail on a trumped-up charge of perjury that grew out of the Rapp-Coudert witch hunt in the New York public schools, Morris U. Schappes addressed a meeting of Jewish community leaders in Boston on the problem of anti-Semitism. NEW MASSES *presents his speech slightly abridged. We also take this opportunity to remind our readers that one of the best ways of combatting the evils that Schappes discussed in this speech is to wire or write Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Albany, N. Y., and urge him to pardon Schappes so that he may resume his distinguished services to the anti-fascist cause. —The Editors.*

PATRIOTIC and progressive communities outside Boston have added the name of Boston, so often in the past associated with what is noble and grand in our history, to the names of Detroit, San Antonio, Los Angeles, and New York as cities in which anti-Semitism and other extreme instances of racial or national oppression have appeared recently. Detroit had what President Roosevelt called fittingly an "insurrection" against a government engaged in a war. San Antonio had its anti-Negro riots and Los Angeles its attacks on the Mexican-American population. New York has seen anti-Semitic ghouls smashing tomb-stones in Jewish cemeteries. Boston has witnessed, in Dorchester and elsewhere, attacks on the persons, properties, and national symbols of the Jewish people.

Yet I do not regard these outbreaks as a sign of the growing strength of these disruptive forces so much as a sign of their growing desperation. Let us not confuse ferocity with real strength. It is because the forces of national unity in this country, under the great social discipline of a just war, have grown so strong that they are in a position, together with the other United Nations, to administer the final crushing blows to Germany and Japan that the anti-Semites are resorting to the methods of desperation to disrupt this unity. We become really stronger; they become desperate and ferocious, but essentially weaker.

Fascism itself has proved to be ferocious but unstable. Those who thought the Nazi axis was invincible gave in without a struggle. Those who saw its inherent instability were not terrorized by its threatening grimaces and organized in time, even if not as soon as possible, to defeat the Axis. When Hitler could no longer keep the stronger forces of decency and international order disunited, his destruction became a certainty. Similarly, anti-Semitism here is showing its ferocity as its instability and real weakness become apparent. As the anti-Semites here see the Axis about to face utter destruction, as they therefore feel their main foreign source of strength crumbling, they do their worst to disrupt the nation's unity. But let us not mistake their panic-stricken thrashings for real strength. Let us not nurse the illusion of their invincibility. If we can exert our maximum united strength, we can destroy these enemies of the nation at home.

ALTHOUGH the Jews are a minority, they are, we must never forget, a minority in a democracy. The main principle of a democracy is that the rights of any one group, be it minority or majority, are connected with the rights of all groups. The majority in a democracy has decided, by its constitution and its laws, that the minorities must get equality of treatment in order that the majority itself may be secure and strong. In the United States, the majority is really made up of a collection of minorities, all of them unified around common needs and aims.

Other things being equal, a minority is always weaker than the majority. If it obtains equal rights and opportunities, it is only because it has formed *an alliance* with the majority against any clique or group that would split asunder this democratic unity. The only way a minority can protect, maintain, or extend its rights is by developing these alliances, both with other minorities and with the majority. In Boston the Jews are only fifteen percent and in Massachusetts only six percent of the population. It is obvious that they cannot protect themselves alone, in isolation from their allies in democracy.

Historically, the Jews have always had these alliances in Boston. In fact, the Jews were originally *invited* by non-Jews to settle in Boston. In 1840, the Christian world was shocked by the Damascus trial of Jews on the traditionally false charge of "ritual-murder." In New York, Philadelphia, and Boston meetings of protest were held. Thus on Sept. 21, 1840, a meeting was held at the Clarendon Street Chapel "to take into consideration the condition of the Jewish nation as respects both their present and future welfare." At that time there were not enough Jews in Boston to make up a *minyan*. [Under Jewish religious law ten males, each thirteen years old or over, known as a *minyan*, are required to conduct religious services.] The occasional Jew who died in Boston had to be transported elsewhere to be buried in a Jewish cemetery. That Clarendon Street Chapel meeting, however, passed a resolution inviting "the suffering Jews of other nations to come to this country, and . . . to our city, where we presume they might do as well as in other cities in the world, though at present we have very few with us."

The Jews began to come to Boston. By 1842 there were eighteen families who got together to organize the first Jewish community at 5 Wendell Street. Among them were a couple of cap makers, a fur-

"If there were more than twenty of us, we were like potatoes in a sack." From Taro Yashima's story in drawings of the torture of Japanese anti-fascists, "The New Sun."

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rier, two peddlers, a dry goods storekeeper, a soap maker, and a hotel owner. They called themselves Ohabei Shalom (Lovers of Peace). On March 26, 1852, they officially and with appropriate ritual and ceremonies opened their first synagogue. The $7,000 for the building had been contributed both by Jews and by allies of the Jews. At the opening, Mayor Benjamin Seaver of Boston was in attendance, together with some city councilmen, Theodore Parker, and other non-Jewish dignitaries.

Since then the Jews have grown in number and in their civic and social and productive contribution to society. They have always, but generally somewhat too loosely, maintained these alliances with the majority of the people. They have allies now, in these times of stress, in Governor Saltonstall, in Prof. Gordon Allport, in the CIO and other sections of the labor movement, in a host of individuals in clerical, political, social, intellectual, and civic ranks. But the alliance needs greater cohesion so that it may develop greater fighting power to cope with the disruptive minority. The grand alliance of the United Nations was not completed but only begun when the Declaration of Jan. 1, 1942, was signed. The alliance has been, rather unevenly and with disappointing slowness perhaps, developing since then, and just the other day reached a new peak with the agreements arrived at by the four leading nations. But even this peak is not yet the Alps of unity that still lie in the distance. So on this smaller but still important scale in Boston or any similar community the problem is to develop the alliance of any one minority with the majority.

THE Philadelphia convention of the CIO concluded on Nov. 5, 1943, revealed the full might of one powerful ally. The CIO resolution on the problems of the Jews should give heart and strength to every Jew in the land. The leaders of five and one-half million trade unionists, the vast majority non-Jewish, in this resolution revealed a grasp of the needs of the Jews both here and abroad such as has not been equalled by any group of similar size and composition. They made this analysis and resolved to act upon it because they, members of the majority, saw that anti-Semitism is a threat not only to the Jews but to themselves as a whole and to the entire nation. "Anti-Semitism today is treason to America," they declare. They assert the rights of the Jewish minority in order to save the non-Jewish majority from defeat and disruption. The resolution covers the points of anti-Semitism at home, the saving of the Jews of nazified Europe, the problem of immigration into the United Nations, the demands of Palestine Jewry for the right to fight and to produce to their full capacity for the war, the abrogation of the Chamberlain "White Paper," the passage of the Dickstein and Lynch bills to ban anti-Semitic propaganda from the mails, and so forth. As the CIO locals begin to carry through the sense of this resolution, they will in practice fulfill the forging of the alliance that is therein promised in numberless communities.

It takes more than one to develop an alliance. Therefore the Jews too have their responsibility. Alliances have to be beneficial to both parties, to all sections participating in the joint enterprise. It is therefore blessed to give help, so that you may be blessed to receive help when you need it. Every section of the population needs the help of other sections today. This war involves the welfare of us all. The non-Jew as well as the Jew has his problems. Cooperation between them is both possible and necessary if all are to solve their problems, the most pressing of which are a speedy victory and a long peace. Jews therefore must boldly be active and if possible lead in the solution of these problems. To lead for the common good is to undermine the effectiveness of anti-Semitic propaganda.

Whatever potency and persuasiveness anti-Semitic propaganda has nowadays seem to me to be based on two factors. And I am thinking not primarily of the tough youngster who heaves a brick through a synagogue window, but of the more dangerous phenomenon that gives him moral support for his vicious violence. Take the non-Jewish mother, the loving, patient, hard-working, fearful mother with a son, or two or three, in the armed forces. To her the anti-Semitic lie is fed, playing on her deep mother-love, that her son would not have had to go from home if the "Jews" (or that man Roosevelt, or even Stalin) had not brought this war upon our heads. Lindbergh gave a big push to this Nazi line in his Des Moines speech in 1941, and it has been going strong ever since. Many a tender, loving mother who would not hurt a fly except in the protection of her children is fooled and made wild by such fables.

BUT those who are not deceived by this story are fed another equally dangerous concoction. Those who may believe that we really had to fight this war for our national survival are told that the "Jews" want to prolong this war. To a Gentile mother, that means that the "Jews" are keeping her boy from coming home to her at once. She too can become embittered if she believes this lie.

Now both these lies have to be disproved, both by argument and action. Innumerable Jews are seeking to speed up victory. Do we use these facts sufficiently in our exposure of anti-Semitic demagogy? Here for instance is Maxim Litvinov, a Jew whose biography has just been written by the American scholar, Prof. Arthur Upham Pope. This Bialistoker Jew, born Mayer Wallach, certainly worked more persistently than perhaps any other figure in contemporary history to build the structure of collective security that could have prevented this war. Litvinov, in other words, strove mightily to keep these sons of non-Jewish mothers, and the sons of all mothers, off the fields of battle. Do we make enough of this fact? Do we tell it often enough to non-Jewish audiences? Are we prepared boldly to acknowledge it ourselves?

Likewise with the speeding up of the war, Litvinov spent more than a year in a vain embassy to the United States, during which he tried to achieve and get enforced an agreement to open up a Western Front a year ago that could have ended Hitler's military power sometime in 1943. This Jew, Mayer Wallach, tried to bring all mothers' sons home earlier. These mothers should "praise whatever Gods there be" for the work of a Litvinov. They should turn their mother-wrath upon those who prevented the success of his grand plan for world security and peace, and who encouraged the disruption that has slowed up our progress to victory. Why don't we say so, very loudly, and more often?

There are still other ways of building alliances, among minorities themselves. Here is a promising instance. In the recent New York election campaign the Jewish Communist, Carl Brodsky, withdrew his candidacy for city council so that the Negro Communist, Ben Davis, could run and win. Now I live in an area that has become a frontier of Harlem as the Negro population shifted. I have at first hand seen some anti-Semitic manifestations in Harlem. Harlem churches and Harlem newspapers, especially A. Clayton Powell's *People's Voice*, have for years been conducting general education on the evils of anti-Semitism. Now this single, widely-publicized act of Brodsky's withdrawal in favor of Davis proved to tens of thousands, in terms of their own jubilant experience, that Jews and Negroes have common interests.

Sometimes we Jews are afraid to act openly either in behalf of others or in the specific resistance to anti-Semitism. Some of us are still ridden by the psychology of fear. We have a habit of "dignified" and "long-suffering" retreat. But there is more dignity and less suffering in moving forward to victory. We must decide which we fear more: the victory of Hitler and the anti-Semites, or the struggle against fascism and anti-Semitism. Is there really a choice, when Hitlerism offers us literal extermination? It is hard to win an ally, or develop an alliance, when we are ourselves retreating. Those who themselves fight with full courage help others decide to join them in the battle. But what is this talk of retreat or advance? The real alternative is survival or annihilation. Nothing less.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES.

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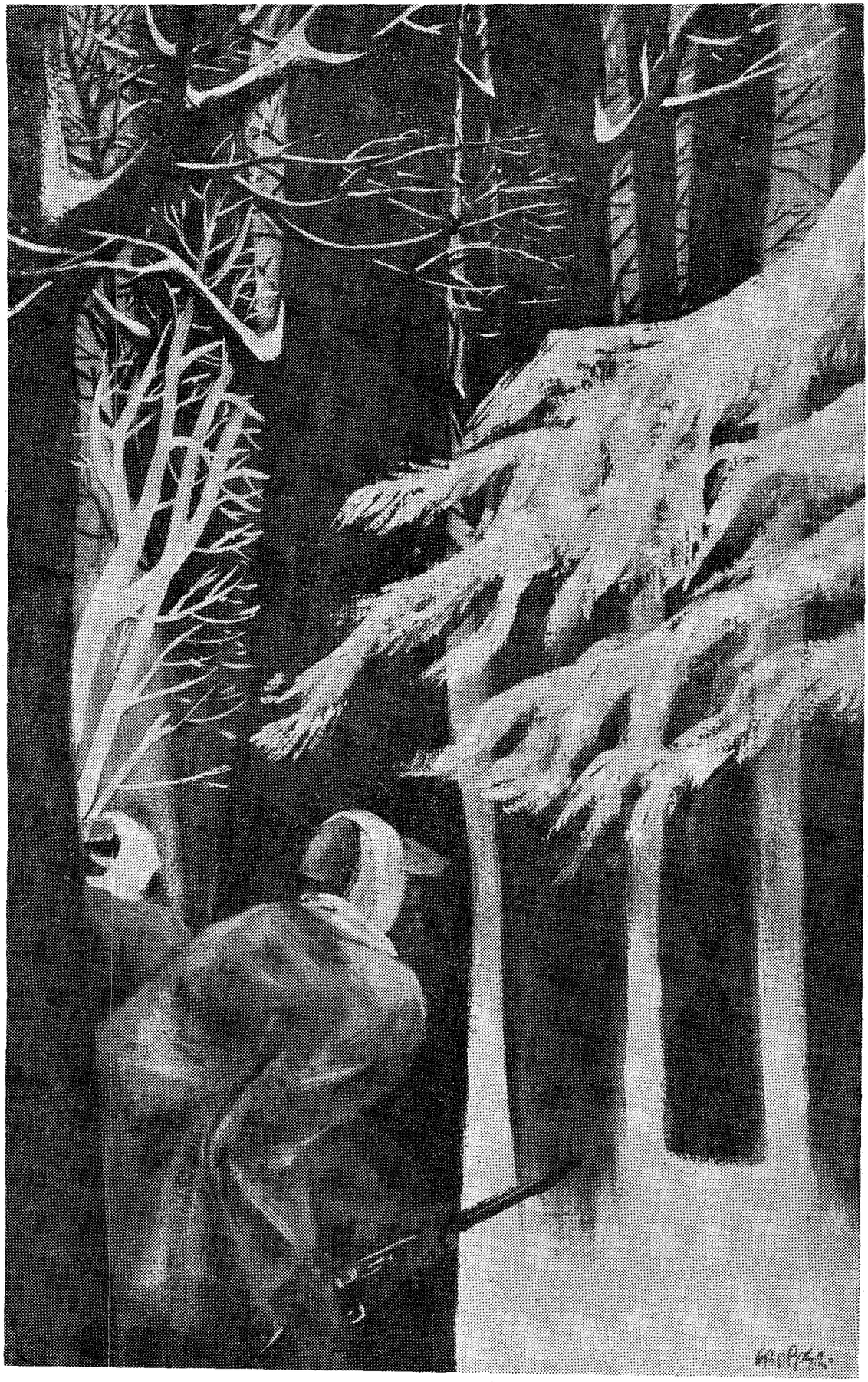

"Partisans," oil painting by William Gropper. Among the paintings to be shown at his annual exhibition at the ACA Gallery, February 7 to 27.

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THE PEOPLE GO TO SCHOOL

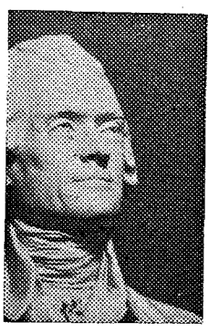
In the spirit of Jefferson a people's movement in education springs up. Labor joins with progressives in launching experiments in learning.

A FEW months after the American Constitution was drafted, Thomas Jefferson wrote to James Madison: "Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty." This was one of Jefferson's many expressions of his conviction that democracy, as the participation by all the people in the determination of the personnel and policies of their government, could exist and flourish only on the basis of an educated citizenry. Our country has achieved a universal compulsory educational system, supplemented by a vast number of public and private colleges. But everyone admits today that our educational system is not everything it should be. It falls woefully short of educating all the people and of giving even those who complete high school a training adequate to the problems of our changing world.

Education must be a continuous life process. This does not necessarily mean that everyone must continue schooling of some sort, take courses throughout his life. Many can best continue their education by themselves, to keep up with the times, extend their knowledge into new fields. But a great deal of experience has shown that most people welcome organized and formal assistance in continuing their education, entirely apart from the often necessary vocational training or retraining. Such people are to be found in all walks of life and with varied educational backgrounds.

These war years, however, have made a terrific impact upon millions of our people. Comfortable ideas, often carefully nourished by the press, have broken down; new areas of the world have come into our daily life; men have been puzzled and aroused to the need of new knowledge by that vast historical development from Munich to Teheran. Single years bring forth as much as normal decades; millions are uprooted with their loved ones in the armed forces, or have changed occupations and with that, friends and ideas. Amidst these kaleidoscopic changes large bodies of people have become painfully aware that they do not know enough, that they need to sink their roots deeper into American history and world history, science, and culture. They are not satisfied with those who, like the intellectual conferees meeting at Columbia University in 1942 declared they were confused. They seek help from people who are not confused but who have information and a body of principles as to what makes the wheels go round in economics, politics, and world affairs. Never has there been such a feeling of need for new knowledge and new skills. Never has education been seen so much as a life-time need rather than a mere preparation for living.

IT IS in this setting, under these conditions, that there have sprung up in America a number of new schools of a new kind. Progressive people's schools they might be called, but they are at the same time labor schools with close relations with the trade unions. Two of them, the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago and the Jefferson School of Social Science now opening in New York can be called, in terms of either achievement or promise, people's universities — institutions in which adults, regardless of educational background, can pursue a variety of studies (excepting the physical sciences) and achieve a competence in them equivalent to that offered by our colleges and graduate schools. The School for Democracy in New York was probably the first of this new type of school. It was opened by a group of teachers who had been involved in the Rapp-Coudert investigation of so-called "subversive activities" in the New York City colleges. Significant historically is the fact that these teachers were removed from our colleges the same year as Pearl Harbor: so closely timed was the whole Axis-inspired attack upon the American people. With only two months of existence behind it, the School for Democracy reacted to Pearl Harbor by throwing all its efforts into the formation of national unity and the welding of opinion behind President Roosevelt and the war effort.



In two and a quarter years the School for Democracy grew from 400 students to over 1,100, and increased its offerings from eighteen courses to forty-five. But more significant was the fact that in a number of other important urban centers comparable progressive adult educational ventures were founded. The Tom Mooney School in San Francisco was opened with both AFL and CIO support, and with a Board of Trustees made up of Tom's brother and sister and many important local union leaders. Then came the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago, headed by Prof. A. D. Winspear, of the Wisconsin University classics department, on leave for this task. With broad progressive and labor support the Lincoln School will soon complete a year of extraordinarily successful existence. Then came the People's Educational Center in Los Angeles and the New Jersey Labor School in Newark, both with considerable trade union support, and with broad programs that include American history, economics, labor problems, public speaking, and many other fields. Also, during the past six months, there was opened in Harlem, New York's great Negro center, a school especially designed to meet the problems of the Negro people. With a representative board of public figures, especially in the Negro community, the George Washington Carver School is now in its second term under the directorship of Miss Gwendolyn Bennett. January of this year saw the opening of the Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art. Like the other new popular schools its curriculum ranges from labor problems to sociology, from philosophy to religion and society, and includes writing, music, and art.

NOW in New York is being launched the most ambitious of all these new schools, the Jefferson School of Social Science. Brought forth by an organizing committee of well known representatives of labor, the academic professions, and of other sections of public life, it will open with a program of seventy-five courses in a building, centrally located at Sixteenth Street and Sixth Avenue. The Jefferson School, supplanting both the Workers School, which had twenty years of continuous existence, and the more recent School for Democracy, is founded upon the recognition that "these critical times have emphasized the need for education as one of the foundation stones for building a peaceful world of democratic nations." One of the distinguishing features of the Jefferson School, as envisioned, is the aim to make it a genuine people's university, with advanced courses, seminars, short full-time day schools, institutes on special subjects, and a continuous series of lectures, forums, and so forth on every kind of current problem. A second outstanding feature is the more distant plan of developing, in the same building, schools in art, dancing, music, and radio and the theater, thus creating one educational and cultural center such as has never existed in America outside of the officially accredited universities.

The emergence of these new schools from coast to coast during the present war period is truly impressive. They have sprung from the needs of the people and are characterized by their breadth and scope, their close relations with the labor movement, and their independence of any special

(*Continued on page* 31)

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NM SPOTLIGHT

We Shall Remember!

THE language is barren of phrases even to begin describing the fury and nausea we felt on reading the reports of Japanese cruelty. Each account, the American and the British, stuns the normal mind. It is beyond the rational intellect to picture the calculated brutalities rained down on helpless men. The last piece of Japanese barbarity practiced on General Doolittle's fliers seems an act of kindness when contrasted to the fiendish atrocities committed on Bataan and Corregidor. To shoot the thirsty crying for water, to beat into bloody pulps those attempting to help fallen comrades, to let sick men die when medical assistance might have saved them, to bury tortured men alive—this is the fascist code.

If we were stunned after studying the joint Army-Navy report, it was only for a moment, for we quickly remembered what we have always known: the sadistic supermen are capable of the most depraved acts wherever their pirate banners fly. Our Chinese friends have felt the Nipponese whip for almost a decade. Until the Nazis fashioned new standards for treating the world, nothing had surpassed the Japanese rape of Nanking. And when Hitler emerged from Berlin to sack and ruin Europe, depravity reached even more horrible peaks. Before us are last week's newspaper accounts of the work of the Soviet commission investigating the murder of Polish officers and Soviet citizens in Smolensk's Katyn Forest. Here was a monstrous crime organized with all the diabolical cunning of Nazi leadership. Hundreds of bodies were exhumed each with a bullet hole at the base of the skull. The whole area was depopulated. These criminal acts were those of a piece with the ones revealed during the Kharkov trials. There wounded Red Army men were murdered on their hospital cots, children destroyed in gas chambers, the aged shot or beaten to death. In no other land torn by war have there been such crimes, on so enormous a scale, as those committed by the Germans on Soviet soil.

In one week then, Americans learned of Axis horrors inflicted in the Philippines and in Eastern Europe. And if from both ghastly stories the nature of the beast that confronts us becomes clearer, then we are better prepared to destroy it. This is fascism in its normal state. These crimes are not aberrations. They are part and parcel of totalitarian "civilization" and the philosophy of *Schrecklichkeit*. It is easier now for us to understand the reasons for the bitterness and hatred which every Soviet citizen holds for the enemy. We can now also see the importance of the Declaration on Atrocities that came out of the Moscow Conference. And perhaps those churlish commentators who spoke of the Kharkov trials as premature or as having no other purpose than propaganda, will now have some inkling of their effectiveness in warfare and in arranging the way for a secure future.

After the Army-Navy report there will be those who will distort its meaning by pressing for a reversal of settled strategy as there will be those in the same camp who will insist that such atrocities can be ended by coming to terms immediately with Hitler and Hirohito. There can be but one answer to them that will not betray the victims. And that answer is to stamp out the very roots of the fascist system and prevent it from ever returning to the world again.

Mediate With Whom?

MR. EDEN'S reply in Parliament to a question on the government's attitude towards the Polish dispute can be marked down as a lame statement not in the least helpful in resolving the controversy. His words will be taken by the Mikolajczyk clan as moral support for an insupportable position. The effect of his cautious and unconvincing remarks will be to bolster the tottering Polish cabinet and to prolong its death agonies. It is no secret that Polish officialdom is an unendurable headache for the Foreign Office but strange concepts of honor rationalized by misinterpretations of the Atlantic Charter make it resist, however weakly, the inexorable tide of change.

Nor can it be said that the State Department's efforts at intercession are any better. Mr. Hull has informed the press that the Soviet government politely rejected his offer of mediation. The truth is that there is no one to mediate with. Can mediation be conducted with Polish emigres whose record is an unending series of provocations against the Soviet Union? Can mediation be conducted with a cabinet whose chief of military affairs, General Sosnokowski, resigned from the Sikorski government in protest against the resumption of diplomatic relations with the USSR? Is mediation realistic if Polish government adherents write in their newspapers that the Teheran Conference was an unprecedented catastrophe? Can anyone mediate with an exiled government which in collusion with Berlin accused Russians of murdering Polish officers and has not even withdrawn those charges after Soviet investigators, in the presence of foreign correspondents, produced irrefutable evidence that the Katyn Forest atrocities were committed by the Nazis? If our own government refuses to recognize the pro-fascist, anti-Washington junta thousands of miles away in Bolivia, why should it feel that Moscow must deal with an anti-Soviet cabal seeking to impose its will on a bordering country.

These questions, it seems to us, go to the heart of the problem. All the clatter and chatter notwithstanding, answering them honestly must lead to a policy in which the Polish government is permitted to die without further ado. It never will be missed.

Ruin Rule on Way Out

AS WE write, there have only been fragmentary reports of the Congress of the Committee of National Liberation which opened its sessions in Bari last weekend. What little news has seeped through indicates that Benedetto Croce, the Italian philosopher, has been named president of the conference and that the coalition of six anti-fascist parties has reiterated most emphatically its demand that "the moral and material reconstruction of Italy presupposes the immediate abdication of the King." Again, then, the issue of establishing a broad, representative government is foremost in Italian thinking. It has, of course, been paramount from the day Mussolini toppled into the gutter. But with the Allies coming closer to Rome, with the existence of a terrifying economic crisis, and with the obvious and miserable failure of AMG—fundamental changes in the administration of Italian life become most urgent.

We shall never know how much the Italian campaign was retarded by Badoglio's "government of technicians"—a government whose unrepresentative character hindered the mobilization of Italians for effective participation in the war. These "technicians" have played with the most shady elements, drawing ever closer to them the monarchist groups who insist on ruling and ruining. They have deliberately and totally neglected the anti-fascist forces fighting in the occupied areas and

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they cannot begin to solve the harrowing economic crisis, eliminate profiteering, and improve tronsportation, because they have no mass support. And having no mass support they are continually at swords' points with those who do. They are the creatures of AMG, whose history, at least in Sicily, will go down as one of the blacker chapters in the career of this fumbling and muddling organization. We sometimes wonder whether its functionaries have taken time off from the appointment of dukes and reactionaries to the AMG apparatus to read the declarations, particularly the one on Italy, that came out of the Moscow Conference. They obviously have not. Fortunately the Allied Advisory Council is making recommendations conforming to the spirit and intent of the Moscow meeting.

When General Eisenhower was in command the Council had suggested to him that all Italy south of the northern boundaries of Salerno, Potenza, and Bari, including Sicily and Sardinia, be placed under Italian civil administration. It would seem, according to dispatches in the New York *Times*, that this recommendation may soon be put into practice.

In any event, the time is ripe for a grand political move as daring as the outflanking of the Germans by the Fifth Army. It is also high time that the State Department stopped the monkey business of refusing exit visas to distinguished Italian anti-fascist refugees eager to return to their homeland. The failure to grant passage, for example, to Professor Ambrogio Donini and Giuseppe Berti, members of the editorial staff of the progressive Italian weekly *L'Unita del Popolo*, is shameful to say the least.

Pressure on Ramirez

A FULL two years after the twenty-one nations of the western hemisphere at the Rio de Janeiro Conference had pledged themselves to sever all relations with the Axis, the government of Argentina, the one holdout, has complied. It has done so under terrific pressure from the valiant democratic forces which constitute the vast majority of the Argentine nation. These forces had been virtually isolated until the United States and Great Britain stiffened their policies against Ramirez. With respect to this particular problem these two leading members of the United Nations show that they are at long last learning the tragic lesson of appeasement. By their new attitude toward Argentina and by their refusal to sanction the recent fascist coup in Bolivia, American and British statesmen have given proof that the Moscow-Teheran-Cairo decisions have vital substance. Now that every single nation in the hemisphere has broken off direct contact with Berlin and Tokyo, has the foundation for a genuine democratic coalition on this side of the Atlantic been firmly laid? A mere glance at the situation which remains, even after the Argentine break, is convincing proof that the answer to this question remains negative. The western hemisphere is by no means yet placed on a solid pro-war footing. The Ramirez clique in Argentine cut off diplomatic relations with the Axis under duress. That act alone did not change the essential fascist character of the government, which remains on the friendliest possible terms with Hitler's ally, Franco Spain, which successfully plotted the Bolivian coup, which is known to be intriguing for similar coups elsewhere in Latin America, and which has set up a thorough-going Nazi regime over the Argentine people. The Ramirez government, despite the setback which it has received, remains Hitler's bridgehead this side of the Atlantic. It no longer needs the direct advice and organizing machinery of the German diplomatic offices to remain the central point of fifth column infection for the entire hemisphere.

The president of the Confederation of Latin American Workers, Lambardo Toledano, in calling an emergency session of the CTAL's executive council said: "The rupture of relations does not lessen the danger emanating from Argentine fascism, and the democracies should not maintain relations with Argentina until civil rights are restored." That is tantamount to calling for a continued and stronger alliance between the outside forces, that is, mainly, the United States and Great Britain, and the forces of democracy within Argentina, until the Ramirez gang has been completely routed. Probably the most effective immediate contribution of the Anglo-American powers to this situation would be the stopping of all contacts, commercial and diplomatic, with Franco Spain, coupled with vigorous assistance to the democratic Spanish people.

Current Washington reports indicate the first steps in this direction have been taken: oil supplies to Franco Spain have been cut off temporarily — for one month. Apparently Washington and London plan to extend the blockade to include food and cotton exports. It is possible that the navicert system will be used to halt Spanish bottoms from sailing Allied-controlled seas. Thus it is expected to prevent the transmission of supplies and funds to Hitler; to effect the release of Italian warships and merchant craft cooped up in the Balearics; to prevent sabotage of Allied vessels and to effect the withdrawal of all Italian soldiers from the Soviet front. Such blockade measures, if applied promptly and firmly, would undoubtedly lead to a further weakening of Franco, and possibly to a break with the Axis. That, in turn, would lead to the final elimination of Franco and his Falange—with consequent great affirmative reverberations upon Latin America.

FDR Nails Vote Fraud

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S message on soldiers' vote legislation was far blunter and more uncompromising than any previous admonition he has addressed to Congress. His forthright denunciation of the Rankin-Eastland "fraud" put through by the Senate "with their tongues in their cheeks" and accompanied by a lot of tricky nonsense about "states rights," expresses the deep revulsion throughout the nation against the small group of willful men—Republicans and a little band of poll-taxers—who cynically and arrogantly deny the rights of citizenship to those millions in uniform prepared to fight and die for their country.

The President's bitter indictment has had two results. By taking leadership in the struggle to win the ballot for the armed services, he has given new impetus to the rising demand from every section of America and from every group and class that the stubborn connivers in Congress stop sabotaging a federal ballot law. More, the President has smoked out reaction. The performance of Senator Taft, who lost his temper and his head with it, gave the show away. He raged to the Senate that this war against fascism was in his eyes nothing more than a New Deal plot. His colleague, Holman of Oregon, went still farther: he revealed that the condition placed by the Republicans for passage of workable soldiers' vote legislation is the withdrawal of President Roosevelt from American political life in 1944.

The Republicans and their few poll-tax stooges are stuck with a losing fight. They will bluster and they will maneuver, hoping to frustrate the will of the overwhelming majority. The President has called their bluff. All that now remains to be done is for the people—millions of individuals as well as unions, church and fraternal societies, Negro bodies, community groups, every patriotic organization everywhere—to increase the already heavy pressure on Congress for a federal ballot for the armed forces along the lines of the Green-Lucas bill in the Senate and the Worley bill in the House. Speed is now essential.

Living Cost Victims

NEVER before have white-collar workers—that whole category of salaried employees, from professionals and highly skilled technicians to clerks, librarians, teachers, and others engaged in non-industrial occupations—so clearly stated their dilemma in a period of rising

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prices and low incomes as they did last week before the Pepper sub-committee of the Senate's Committee on Education and Labor. They testified for four days, supported by the rest of the labor movement, both CIO and AFL, as well as by welfare and other associations concerned with this great section of our population—twenty-five percent of the gainfully employed. The salaried employees stated their needs clearly and passionately, with a unity of approach that refuted the canard that white collar and professional workers can neither be organized nor welded together in common purpose. Impressive above all was the emphasis placed on winning the war as the main job, and the understanding of the need to prepare now for a postwar world in which the promises of Teheran and the perspectives of peace and stabilization are fulfilled.

The AFL and CIO members of the committee appointed by President Roosevelt to survey the cost of living have just issued a carefully documented report showing that living costs have risen 43.5 percent since January 1941, rather than the 23.4 percent shown in the Bureau of Labor Statistics index. White collar workers have been hurt more by this steep increase than industrial workers, for theirs is a fixed income group burdened by inadequate pay while forced, by the very nature of their occupations, to maintain a "front." As a result, because low salaries cannot be stretched indefinitely, this group sacrifices medical care, skimps on diet, and neglects educational needs.

The hearings posed the problems of the salaried employees in specific terms. The remarkably wide array of witnesses who testified included spokesmen from the International Association of Fire Fighters, the American Public Welfare Association, the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, the National Non-Partisan Council, the National Education Association, the American Association of University Professors, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Department Store Employes Union. They should help frustrate the effort initiated by the New York *Times* several months ago to drive a wedge between the salaried groups and the administration. The Senate subcommittee seeks correction of the worst abuses, and through its forthcoming report will place the problem squarely before those congressional spellbinders who have been weeping crocodile tears for the middle classes while refusing to help them. The needs of the salaried groups and the needs of the wage earners turn out to be identical: passage of a real stabilization program, as proposed by the President in his recent message to Congress; implementation of the Little Steel formula to establish a correct relationship between earnings and the cost of living; firm price control; efficient and broad rationing.

Smoking Out Treason

THE salient facts about the "Peace Now" movement are clear and the issues involved elementary. This movement has been organized for the purpose of working for an immediate negotiated peace with fascist Germany and Japan. It apes the slogans and the propaganda techniques of the America First Committee. It works with Coughlinites, Bundists, and assorted seditionists, and has established connections with their friends in the US Senate. It has made overtures to Charles Lindbergh, Henry Ford, and General Robert Wood, former chairman of America First.

All this follows a familiar pattern. What is new about "Peace Now" is that it operates behind a "liberal," "pacifist," "Socialist" facade. Its chairman is Dr. George W. Hartmann, visiting professor of psychology at Harvard, who has been Socialist candidate for mayor of New York. "Peace Now" also has close connections with Norman Thomas and with that veteran apologist for fascism, Frederick Libby of the National Council for the Prevention of War. And the Rev. John Haynes Holmes views "Peace Now" so sympathetically that he has invited Hartmann to speak at his Community Church.

It is ironic that the New York *Post* should have published the most complete expose of "Peace Now." Ironic because this newspaper, which last week presented documentary evidence that the "Socialist," Hartmann, is hand in glove with American fascists, raised such a howl some months ago when Hartmann's Polish comrades, Ehrlich and Alter, were accused by the Soviet government of similar crimes and put to death. Credit for first turning the spotlight on "Peace Now" goes to the *Daily Worker*, which exposed it in an article by Sender Garlin last September 26.

The evidence published in the *Post* must not be ignored if our country in truth is to be prepared for the great test that awaits us with the opening of the western invasion of Europe. That test will be moral as well as military. There is no reason why the Hartmanns and Bessie Simons should be treated any differently from the Joe McWilliams, and Elizabeth Dillings. And it is shocking that at this late date the Harvard authorities continue to permit Hartmann to infect soldiers and potential soldiers with the virus of treason.

BUT it would be an illusion to think that the ideas of "Peace Now" are confined to such easily identifiable subversive groups and individuals. The fact that a Socialist can be the directing brain of this movement ought to give all genuine liberals something to ponder on. What of Hartmann's political party and its leader, Norman Thomas? Is it not a fact that the doctrines of "Peace Now" are only a franker statement of the policies expressed week after week in the Socialist *Call* and in the speeches of Thomas? And hasn't the time come for decent people, whatever their political views, to refuse to provide Thomas with a cloak of respectability, to refuse to be associated with him in any venture, however laudable it may seem?

There are other publications that offer the "Peace Now" poison in various compounds. There is Senator La Follette's *Progressive*. And there is the monthly *Common Sense*, which was isolationist before the war, trimmed its sails when war came, and now once more is tacking in the "Peace Now" direction. *Common Sense* publishes a monthly signed political review by Sidney Hertzberg. In the January issue Hertzberg wrote of the Cairo and Teheran conference: "At these meetings the great and powerful old men of the earth wrote a death warrant for millions of young men." Perhaps the deeper significance of this becomes clear when it is recalled that this is the same Sidney Hertzberg who was publicity director of the America First Committee. An editorial by Alfred Bingham in the same issue attacks the bombing of Berlin and declares: "Our motives toward the Germans have become more and more Nazi in spirit." A regular columnist of *Common Sense* is Milton Mayer, who several years ago published an anti-Semitic article in the *Saturday Evening Post* and who more recently refused to be inducted into the armed forces on the ground that he was opposed to the war. And the magazine's literary critic is Granville Hicks, who no doubt feels very much at home in this melange of defeatists, Trotskyites, and professional Red-baiters.

The enemy has not one face, but many. It is time we began to understand that this intellectual "left" defeatism, steeped in hatred of Russia and the Teheran program—this too is the face of the enemy.

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The Pepper sub-committee is to be congratulated for holding these useful and intelligent hearings. Their report on their findings is now awaited eagerly as a guide to useful and pertinent action.

To the Rescue

IN SETTING up by executive order a new War Refugee Board President Roosevelt has expressed this government's determination to do whatever can be done before the overthrow of Nazism to help save as many as possible of the refugees from Hitler's "New Order." A statement issued by the White House emphasizes the President's feeling "that it was urgent that action be taken at once to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe."

The personnel of the new board, which is to consist of the Secretaries of State, War and the Treasury, is evidence of the importance that the President attaches to it. There is no doubt that salvation for the bulk of the estimated 16,000,000 European refugees, of whom about one-fourth are Jews, can be achieved only through the opening of those military operations from the west, south, and east which were decided at the Moscow and Teheran conferences. There remain, nevertheless, thousands of individual cases where rescue is possible with the assistance of United Nations and neutral governments and public and private agencies. The executive order creating the new War Refugee Board stipulates that it shall accept the services and contributions of all such agencies and of foreign governments. The order also provides for the appointment of special State Department attaches abroad wherever they can be of assistance to refugees.

President Roosevelt's action comes in response to the request of many organizations, among whom the American Jewish Conference has played a most important role. The efforts of these organizations should not be confused with the clamorous and disruptive campaign of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, whose leaders have attacked the Moscow declarations and the Roosevelt administration and have made proposals that would weaken the war effort, thereby prolonging the agony of Europe's remaining Jews. The responsible spokesmen of American Jewry have repudiated this outfit whose original sponsors included such choice characters as William Randolph Hearst and Herbert Hoover.

Another welcome development is the unanimous approval by a House Post Office Subcommittee of the Lynch bill banning dissemination of anti-Semitic and other race hate material through the mails. This bill, which is a weapon against fifth columnists and seditionists, is being backed by many labor and anti-fascist organizations. It should be reported favorably by the full committee and passed without delay.

THE WEEK IN LONDON by CLAUDE COCKBURN

LONDON'S POLISH PLAGUE

London (by cable)

THERE has been a notable improvement in the somewhat murky atmosphere which prevailed here as recently as a week ago. It is worthwhile not only to note the improvement but also to list a number of factors responsible for the murk and the character of the forces attempting to disperse it.

It is perhaps best to begin by quoting a leading article which appeared last week in Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express*. I don't know whether any part of it has been published in your papers or how much its significance has been appreciated in the light of the situation forming its background. The closeness of relations between Beaverbrook and Churchill has never been a secret. And now Beaverbrook's principal organ utters what amounts to a sharp rebuke to anyone seeking to undermine or diminish the Teheran policy. The article says: "Each successful agreement paves the way for new agreements. A year ago the point of argument centered on the second front. Today agreement has been reached. We should not doubt that given the same good will and resolution, the new problems will be solved in the same fashion. But for success we need faith, faith among the peoples suporting the decisions of the statesmen. Let us determine, therefore"—and this is the nub of the article—"to approach all problems in the spirit of those famous declarations [Moscow and Teheran]. Such is the will of the British people. For they know that allegiance to that spirit means victory and peace while departure from that spirit means catastrophe and war."

About this statement in the *Daily Express* three things are to be said. First, without disrespect to that huge circulation newspaper, it may be remarked that it is rare for it to state in its editorial columns any fundamental issue with such uncompromising vigor. Secondly, what it says expresses with great fidelity the views of the vast majority of the British public. Thirdly, it is the first time since Teheran that it has been found necessary for that view to be expressed in such fashion and it will probably stand on record as the first real counter-attack from the highest quarters against those who have been recently creeping out of the bushes to conduct more or less stealthy or more or less open war—according to the nature of the beast—on the policies and decisions taken at Teheran.

There has been a carping, a narking and a barking which is not only unseemly but also disagreeable because it is almost entirely futile. It would have been, of course, naive to expect that the Teheran decisions wrote finis for those whose dangerous and reckless policies imperilled victory in the name of "security" and peace in the name of "caution"; or that they would accept defeat without a squeal. The pitch of their squeals, however, has been instructive. For some considerable period after Teheran, it is true, they lay very low. Then as though prodded in some peculiarly tender and delicate spot by *Pravda's* reference to peace talks, and equally by the realization that the reconstruction of Eastern Europe (begun in the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty) was going ahead without the particular benefit or benison of the emigres in the Polish government in London or the hard pressed politicos of Vatican City—they opened up in papers ranging from the local Catholic press to the "leftist" *Tribune*, to the liberal *Economist*, to the Astorian guard at the *Sunday Observer*.

DETACHING the main significance of their campaign from the mere uproar, one got—especially from the extraordinary indiscretions in the *Observer*—the following picture: It was evidently already too late to opose sharply the original Soviet offer of the Curzon line, which had been in any case completely accepted by the greater part of the British press as in accordance with the realities of the situation and in the best interests of the new Poland; that is, a Poland relieved of its Junker imperialists, and already being visibly carved out by the joint action of the patriot Polish divisions, the Polish guerrillas and the Red

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Army on and behind the lines of the Eastern Front.

The opposition, therefore, retreated to the position of declaring that truth, righteousness, eternal justice, national honor, and the future interest on European bonds demand that whatever territorial decisions are made, at least the Polish government must be regarded as though it has been conceived brought forth, and reared by divine providence, and must be considered virtually sacrosanct. Those inclined to recall to the public mind the possibility that this Polish government is neither more respectable nor less phony than that period of the war in which it was put together in Paris by Chamberlain and Daladier, must be considered people of low, ignoble, and even realistic mentality. From this preposterous position the proponents of these agruments go on to declare that if anyone anywhere suggests any serious change in the structure of Polish leadership at this time, this must be considered a crime so heinous that it would justify "tearing up" the Teheran decisions.

I SWEAR I am not exaggerating. That is a fair summary of what the *Observer* said and of what some of their less clownishly outspoken friends are trying to induce the enormously—and, if you like, excessively—long-suffering British public to believe. Yet I find among serious, authoritative, and thinking people here a very encouraging reaction to all this, which perhaps goes rather deeper than the Beaverbrook editorial I have quoted. They refuse to believe that the British government, within weeks of the mighty achievement of Teheran, should be incapable of solving this essentially minor difficulty—a difficulty which after all is not very different in kind from the difficulty which the British government and people have made at least an advance toward solving in the case of Yugoslavia. There, too, as you will recall, there was an effort made—for that matter it is still being made in some quarters—to endow the "Royal Yugoslav Government," which has lately flitted from South Kensington to Cairo, with the same odor of sacrosanctity with which it is now proposed to squirt the Polish emigres in London.

While it would be foolish to press too closely an analogy between the two situations, one point sticks out. That point is that in the case of Yugoslavia the real facts within Yugoslavia and above all the demands of the prosecution of the war led to the dropping of absurdities and got us at least several inches along the road to practical and sensible treatment. Nobody, I suppose, now seriously questions the judgment of those Allied military leaders who were responsible for the recognition of the new situation in Yugoslavia. One must, of course, except that small group of propagandists who act as the London outlet for the grotesque, reactionary "center" established in Cairo under the leadership of certain former chiefs of the Polish anti-Soviet clique associated now with the ramshackle setting of bogus "democrats" and financed by alarmed Alexandrine cotton brokers. Despite all efforts to the contrary, it was possible for Yugoslavia's military needs to be at least recognized if not by any means entirely met. This would not have been possible, and the results would have ben disastrous, if the theory of the divine rights of a group of Serbian colonels to represent the peoples of Yugoslavia, had been maintained as a cornerstone of Allied policy. To this extent there is a close analogy with the Polish situation.

What is interesting is that the first anti-Soviet, anti-Teheran elements here should be driven to this last disreputable but also uncomfortable extremity. And so far as can be judged at the moment this claim on behalf of the Polish emigre government is the principal plank in the program of the opponents of the Teheran decisions. Naturally when inherent maggots eat this plank from under them, they will carpenter another, regardless of what low political swamps they are forced to wade through for the rotten timber, which is all that is left to them. But for the moment this is their plank, and they are evidently going to stamp up and down on it until it gives way under them.

The upshot of all this is that while it would be exaggerated to suppose that these mountebanks are capable of exercising decisive influence, it would be equally mistaken to suppose that the events of the last three weeks have not provided a warning and a call to vigilance which is perhaps salutary for people who imagined that Teheran could be achieved, secured and implemented without vigilance, without keen thinking, and without struggle.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

FDR CALLS ON THE PEOPLE

Washington.

NOW that the President's recommendations to the reconvening Congress have had time to sink in, the immediate legislative perspectives—and more important, perhaps, the immediate pressures that must be applied to give the five-point program reality—are daily becoming clearer. It is generally acknowledged in Washington that not since Pearl Harbor has President Roosevelt so firmly and so unequivocally exerted his progressive leadership in domestic affairs. Even an unwilling Congress has been constrained to recognize that his demands cannot be wholly ignored. The response so far has been partial and grudging.

As was to be expected, the press almost unanimously misrepresented the President's program by singling out the fifth and last demand for a national service act and by neglecting the President's explicit proposal that national service legislation be contingent on the passage of the four other points in his program. Lamentably, certain labor spokesmen fell for newspaper provocation. The President's speech, however, makes sense only if it is seen as a unit, adding up to more than a sum of its parts.

It is important to realize the President's awareness when he addressed Congress and the nation that he could count on no more than a quarter, or at best a third, of Congress for complete allegiance. He is by no means a free agent able to ignore the constant threats of retaliation from the reactionaries. Like Lincoln in 1862 and 1863, he must consider the consequences of any move he makes, he must weigh the chances. It is all the more encouraging to find him deciding on boldness and firmness. There are those who run around the capitol muttering that the administration's present difficulties grow out of past failures and unfortunate compromises. True, the administration has made mistakes, some of them costly. But whatever the reason for former weaknesses—and they cannot all be blamed on Roosevelt, as some would have it—the President finds himself today in a difficult situation. Even so, he has refused to retreat.

By pointing the direction, he has called on the people to back him. Obviously, he expects and depends on a strong response. He has been fortunate in the support accorded him by such big business representatives as Donald Nelson, Charles E. Wilson,

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Edward Stettinius. But it is the labor movement which has the strength, the numbers, and the organization to give political content to his program. Of course, it is always easier to yap at the administration and the President than to get Congress to do its job. Is it then the President's task as well to see that Congress doesn't welch? The question answers itself—the President is as strong as the backing he gets. Some liberals drearily review "history" and conclude that, after all, Roosevelt is to blame for all shortcomings. I. F. Stone of the *Nation* and *PM*, who has put up such a good fight for strengthening the war effort in all its phases, sings this funereal hymn in the *Nation*. Much that he complains of in the past is true enough. But to throw up one's hands in despair does not accomplish the job that needs to be done now.

Worse, this wallowing in regrets and reproaches is capitalized by every enemy of national unity. Consider the roster of those who are wearing bleeding hearts on their sleeves in the "cause" of labor—Senators Reynolds, Nye, Wheeler, Johnson of Colorado, Langer, and the whole crew of defeatists who suddenly rise up to "defend" the unions they formerly sought to castrate and outlaw. That battling advocate of the working man (and the open shop), the magazine *Life*, appears with a full-page editorial full of grief over labor's lot. And the advice given out by the Luce-mouthed gang? The caption of the editorial reads: "LABOR—Its leaders should wake up to the fact that their big trouble is the administration." The administration is Franklin D. Roosevelt, the editorial makes clear. He is the cause of strikes. Labor's weakness lies in its "blind support of a political machinery"—the Roosevelt government. The conclusion: "So maybe it is time for labor to wake up to the fact that there are two parties in this country."

As usual, *Life* gives the show away. The strategy of reaction is to drive a wedge between labor and the administration in the election year. The Woll-Hutcheson conspiracy in the AFL yodles this refrain; John L. Lewis throws his weight around; some leaders of the Railroad Brotherhoods threaten to show the administration where to head in; the Reuther boys and their opportunist friends in the CIO try to make the most of the chance to disrupt and weaken the leadership of Philip Murray.

The President's program must be seen and discussed as a whole, as it was presented. One proposal has already been won, or at least the Senate has compromised sufficiently to pass legislation permitting fairly adequate renegotiation of outstanding war contracts to continue. The remainder of the tax bill is unbelievably ridiculous and craven. So far, the fight for realistic taxes has been lost—and the box score at the moment on the President's program is one and one, with the play on three major points still to be made.

The keystone of economic stabilization in this period is the subsidy program. The Senate Banking and Currency Committee reported out the Bankhead bill which bans subsidies. As has been repeatedly proved, the cost of food cannot be held in check without subsidies in adequate amounts. Labor recognizes this need; yet the pressure today on the Hill is insufficient. OPA Administrator Chester Bowles has frequently remarked off the record that even with subsidies, he will do well to maintain prices at their present levels, let alone try to roll them back to September 1942 levels where they are theoretically supposed to be fixed. Unless subsidies are applied at once and liberally, the present price index on food will continue to rise, with disastrous results to the home front, and to the detriment of the efficiency, productive capacity, and morale of the farmer, worker, and consumer.

The President separated cost of food legislation from general stabilization of the economy. Yet the cost of food program is really only one part of the larger question. Stabilization is first of all a problem of integrating wages and prices for the worker, income and prices for the middle class consumer, receipts for farm products and prices for the farmer. If a ceiling is rigidly enforced on food, on rents, and on the other principal items affecting the cost of living, if the farmer is guaranteed a floor under the sale price of his products (which is not yet sufficiently provided in proposed legislation), then the most pressing problem still unresolved is that of wages.

The Little Steel formula, it must again be repeated, sought to establish a relationship between wages and prices as of September 1942. Labor abided by the formula—wages were to all intents and purposes frozen at 1942 levels—but prices continued to rise. Philip Murray told the Senate Sub-Committee on Education and Labor that the price index has expanded almost fifty percent since 1941, instead of the 23.4 percent acknowledged by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Real wages have fallen, penalizing the workers, endangering their health, undermining their morale, impairing their productive capacity. Any stabilization legislation must take into account the facts of life; the present mechanical application of the Little Steel formula's fifteen percent rule continues a premise which reality no longer supports. The formula must be made to work. But this is possible only if stabilization is geared to the situation as it exists today. Any stabilization legislation to have meaning must readjust the base point at which wages are fixed, bringing wages in line with prevailing prices.

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Having achieved the first four of the President's proposals, then—and only then—can national service legislation be properly discussed. The President askes for legislation to prevent strikes and to achieve total mobilization for the war. Labor endorses both aims. But until the first four points of the President's program are realized, there is more than a reasonable doubt that national service legislation will eliminate the frictions disrupting the home front. Once the first four planks are won, the cause of recent strike threats will disappear. Unionists insist that bills seeking to penalize labor, to weaken the unions, to place labor at a disadvantage, must be resisted uncompromisingly. Yet it should be apparent that those who mouth slogans about national service legislation being "fascism" are completely off the beam. They reject the President's leadership and his resolve to win the anti-fascist war whatever the sacrifice; they reject total mobilization for the war, and actually accuse the President of turning into his opposite. The use of cliches—supplied by the defeatists and fascists themselves—serves no purpose except to confuse and disrupt.

The President took the position in his speech, which, incidentally, I. F. Stone overlooked, that no doubt the nation has made mistakes in the past, but now it is imperative to jog ourselves out of complacency. The war is far from won. This is no time to clamor for reconversion, for higher prices and profits. We must wake up to the tasks ahead. Those who have given some thought to a national service law based on a proper understanding of total war stress that when the time comes to consider such legislation, any bill must assure labor its basic rights. Moreover, such legislation should facilitate far greater utilization of small producers than is the case at present. It should enforce inspection of plants to guarantee full and efficient utilization of all available labor. It should provide for the transfer of technicians, of skilled workers and managers from more efficient to less efficient plants. It should insist on a far larger role for labor-management committees. It should give greater attention to community facilities in war production centers, to housing, sanitation, recreation, medical care, transportation, and similar necessities. It should reexamine production programs and even at this late date provide for the transfer of contracts wherever possible to less crowded areas. It should undo the harm already done when Congress froze farm labor to the job and exempted it from the draft; by making national service all-embracing, manpower can be allocated according to need, not according to the selfish, profit-conscious desires of a few large landholders.

The Austin-Wadsworth bill—mislabelled "national service legislation"—fulfills none of these requirements. It aims merely to freeze chaos. Yet if properly conceived, national service legislation can advance the war effort—but only *after* the rest of the President's program becomes a reality.

It would be pleasant to conclude with an assurance that in due course, the President's leadership will be translated into legislation. But Congress remains pretty much unreconstructed after its three-weeks Christmas recess. Still, the election year is here, and despite everything that has been said and written to the contrary, this fact can be of great advantage. Legislators are never more conscious of public pressure than when they must soon return to solicit the votes on which their jobs depend.

The reactionary lobbyists are buzzing around in droves, as the President complained. They swarm over the Hill, pestering the senators up for reelection and most of the representatives. They cajole, flatter, offer inducements, and above all, threaten. The insurance lobby, the big packers, the food processors, the large landholders and certain of the industrialists, the NAM, the meat trust—all these special interests and countless more bustle and bluster, and insist that Congress toe the line—their line. The consumers, the labor movement, the small farmers who cast the majority votes, are occasionally heard from, but not in sufficient volume or at all times. The President has asked for support. His program is geared to the demands of the war, to complete and speedy victory. From here it seems that it is now up to the people to respond with everything they've got.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

NEARER ESTONIA

THE German flank position in the fighting space between Lakes Ilmen and Peipus is fast crumbling. By cutting the Tosno-Narva and Dno-Vitebsk railroads the Soviet High Command has created a situation wherein all the German escape lines from this fighting space converge on Pskov. Only the comparatively small group of German troops retreating west from Volosovo toward Narva can avoid the Pskov bottleneck by backing up into the Estonian SSR through the defile between Lake Peipus and the Gulf of Finland.

But all the German troops fighting in the double pocket between Volosovo and Batetskaya (the "Luga pocket") and between Batetskaya and Novosokolniki (the "Staraya Russa-Kholm-Dno pocket") can be supplied, reinforced or evacuated *only through Pskov*. Should the railroad bridge over the Velikaya at that spot be blown up or damaged by a bomb—the entire German Ilmen-Peipus group will be left without communications with its rear.

General Govorov's left flank, coordinated with General Meretskov's right flank, has completely cleared the great trunk line from Leningrad to Moscow. The repair of the bridge across the Volkhov near Chudovo (captured on January 29) will probably take a couple of weeks. After that a powerful artery of supply will start pumping reserves, materiel and supplies into the Leningrad base. Look at the map and you will see that the arrow of the Moscow-Leningrad line points straight at Viipuri (Viborg) through the restored Mannerheim Line. Remember also that the storming of the Mannerheim Line began in early February, four years ago.

The fascist Finnish government in Helsinki cannot hear gunfire across the Gulf of Finland anymore. The silence must sound ghastly to those gentlemen. The gulf (in the literal sense) between fascist Finland and its Hitlerite "white hope" is widening. And, speaking of widening gulfs—because of the advance of the Soviet right flank along the Gulf of Finland, the Baltic Fleet, instead of being cooped up around Kronstadt in the arm of the gulf, which is only fifteen miles wide, can now maneuver in a part of the gulf which is thirty-five miles wide, which makes quite a difference.

The weather on the entire Eastern Front appears to be unusually mild and even the roads around Leningrad are covered with deep mud and slush. This is a disadvantage for the Soviet offensive, but for the Baltic Fleet it is a godsend because it probably can move without icebreakers.

In the center of the front General Rokossovsky has made important advances during the week, slashing close to the railroad running obliquely through the Pripet Marshes from Starushky to Bobruisk. In coordination with Rokossovsky, General Vatutin's extreme right flank has penetrated into the marshes to within fifty miles of the central junction of Luninetz. Thus Rokossovsky and Vatutin have pressed Field

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Marshal von Kluge into the Marshes where he cannot maneuver. On Vatutin's left flank, the Germans have been attacking savagely with great infantry and tank concentrations since January 10. They have been trying to reopen the severed Smela-Vapnyarka line (near Khristinovka) and to prevent Vatutin's further progress to the Bug and the Lovov-Odessa line. In the latter objective they have been successful and have even registered some local advances. It is the fourth such German counterblow since the end of October, when they struck at Krivoi Rog. Then they struck at Kirovograd, later at Zhitomir (the greatest counterblow of all), and they are now striking at Uman and Khristinovka—always protecting their exposed southern bulge, not without success. However, in view of the situation in the north, it would not be surprising to see the Germans move out of the Dnieper Bend at last, and maybe out of the Crimea.

The great battle in the East is more than ever a battle for the railroads, which are the only practicable avenues of maneuver in an unseasonable sea of mud. One can judge the weather there by the low number of daily air losses reported.

THE situation in Italy remains confused, due to the absence of authentic details (for instance—we do not know whether or not our troops have cut the Appian Way, and what the situation in Cassino is).

The landings executed by Allied troops between the Pontine Marshes and the Tiber represent an operation of small scope, strategically speaking. Just look at the map and you will see that even the most complete success in this operation will change the picture little. As to the much talked about "trap" in which the Germans were supposed to have been caught on the so-called "main" front, it does not seem to have materialized. A week has passed since our troops landed at Nettuno and Anzio, but we have not yet impaired the enemy rear communications, except by bombing from the air. This means that von Kesselring is neither in a "Kessel" nor in a "ring," and hardly will be. Thus at best, we will have walked up another "rung" of the endless Italian "ladder."

AROUND THE WORLD

A MESSAGE FROM MME. SUN

We publish below a message from Mme. Sun Yat-sen to American workers, just received here through Allied Labor News. Its plea has particular significance and timeliness today as American labor begins to learn the full truth of the complex, internal Chinese scene. Though addressed particularly to labor, it has pertinence for all friends of the Chinese people, for all who want to see the global war won as rapidly as possible, with a minimum loss of life.
—The Editors.

EVERY American worker and every thinking worker throughout the world, now understands his stake in strengthening democracy and in the war against the Axis. Labor is fighting in this war, and producing for it, because its hope for a better life is bound up with the beating down of blackest reaction, represented by fascism—fascism that begins by reducing its own workers to helots and then goes on to reduce the peoples of other countries to slavery. Labor works and fights for the extension of democracy everywhere because only under democracy can workers organize and move forward toward the fuller enjoyment of the fruits of their own efforts. The nightmare of fascism in Axis strongholds and the slave farms of their "New Order" have shown the workers of the United Nations the value of democracy at home.

China has one-fifth of the world's people. For years she has stood as the great barrier to Japanese fascist domination over all Asia which holds half the people of the earth. Today United Nations forces, as well as her own, are striking at Japan from her soil. The more effectively she fights, the shorter the war against Japan will be, and the less the cost in American lives. That is why American workers have an interest in China's resistance. Chinese resistance has been greatest and most effective at times when and in places where democracy has been strongest, where the people's initiative has ben encouraged, and where the people's war—the only weapon with which an economically backward and relatively unarmed country can beat back a better equipped invader—has been given the freest rein. China's resistance has faltered and failed at times when reactionary forces have committed open treason by going over to the enemy or made the enemy's task easier by suppressing the people and their initiative, and by fearing and sabotaging the democratic effort of all. That is why American labor has a stake in China's democracy.

THE Chinese people are strong in defense of their own soil as proved by their resistance through seven years. But reaction and fascism in China are strong also. This is proved by the betrayal of Wang Ching-wei and of many army generals, by the increased ease with which the Japanese can operate in different parts of our country, by the diversion of part of our national army to the task of blockading and "guarding" the guerrilla areas, by the fact that some still hold private profit above the national interest, by the oppression of the peasantry, and by the absence of a true labor movement in most of our territory.

American labor can best express its interest in China's resistance by insisting that the products of its efforts and the gifts it makes be equally distributed to every force in China, wherever situated, that is actively engaged in operations against Japan—and to no force that is otherwise engaged. It can express this interest in China's democracy by going on record against the threat of civil war which some Chinese reactionaries are preparing in order to destroy a democratic sector of our struggle. That sector is the guerrilla bases in North Shensi and behind the enemy lines where the labor movement is fostered and encouraged and where many detachments of armed miners and railway workers cooperate with the guerrilla fighters to pry Japan loose from her main continental base in North and Central China.

Our government has promised—not for the first time—that we shall have constitutional government, and that one year after the war all parties will be equal and compete politically through the ballot. We need democracy during the war because we must have equal treatment for all anti-Japanese forces. Let the first step be the lifting of the inhuman blockade which prevents wounded fighters of the guerrilla armies, that have inflicted such a large part of all Japanese casualties, from receiving vital medical supplies. Talk of democracy cannot be worth much at a time when even this first step towards simple humanity has not been taken.

American labor needs no praise from me for what it is doing for fighters against fascism everywhere. American workers know, as we all know with warmth, fellow-feeling and gratitude, that ships built by their hands are carrying the weapons they have forged to many fronts of our common struggle. I ask American labor to make known its desire that the men who fight fascism behind Japanese lines get a share of its efforts commensurate with the task they are doing.

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ART YOUNG IN LETTERS

The dean of American cartoonists, haunted by "mass wretchedness," driven by financial worries, retained faith in a new day.

THE following excerpts from letters and postcards written by Art Young, the late and great cartoonist and people's artist—the first two to Corliss Lamont, the rest to his biographer and fellow artist, Gilbert Wilson—reveal his unchanging hope for the world, and the conditions in his personal life which a lesser man might have allowed to obscure that hope. The gnawing anxieties that attended his last years, his worries over how he would continue to pay the rent, to find the bare necessities for life, are revealed here—and his strong determination to work again as he had in the past. Always, Wilson says, he was possessed by the feeling he had not done enough, in mankind's struggle for a better world. With this humility went a determination, to live longer, to produce more, and an unshaken belief in the rising sun—Art Young's own trademark.

Self portrait of Gilbert Wilson, one of Art Young's closest friends.

May 14, 1941; postcard to Corliss Lamont: "Gosh! I like that quote. And I like you for having a poet's vision accompanied by a faith in the 'innocent and wise' . . ." alluding to four lines from the Russian poet Anatole Lunacharsky, which Lamont had sent his friend:

O happy earth, out of the blood of generations
Life yet will blossom, innocent and wise
And thou, my Planet, shalt be cleansed of lamentations
A jade-green star in the moon-silvered skies.

March 18, 1940, in a letter to Lamont on having read his *You Might Like Socialism*, he speaks of "this time of chaos" and tells him "it's fine that you have contributed this book to the cause of order and justice." He described the book as "the economic struggle fairly, but boldly and honestly handled," adding, "I like also your presentation of the results of applied socialism in Russia."

May 28, 1940, New York; to Gilbert Wilson: ". . . I think we have the true religion. If only the crusade would take on more converts we would conquer all along the line. But faith, like the faith they talk about in the churches, is ours and the goal is not unlike theirs in that we want the same objective but want it here on earth and not in the sky when we die. The situation abroad is so frightful I am often upset and inconsolable—but (here Art Young had drawn a bird flying against that inevitable Art Young backdrop, a rising sun) a bird of light I can see winging its way through the chaos—and I am myself again."

Feb. 2, 1940; to Gilbert Wilson: "About that rumor—a misleading headline in the *Philadelphia Record* across the top of their book page read: 'Art Young's Autobiography—A Nobel Prize Novel.' (January 21.) My book was reviewed with reproduction of cartoons, also other books and one a Nobel prize novel. From that headline . . . others were a bit muddled if not taken in. . . . But I appreciate the spirit of your letter."

Feb. 2, 1940, New York; to Gilbert Wilson (All the letters which follow are to Wilson): "Last night around 4 o'clock I had one of my sleepless spells when I lie awake thinking of the mass wretchedness . . . I like your description of the new mural. If I could only shake off this 'involuntary melancholy,' the aftermath of last night, I'd sing joyously here in my room."

Aug. 30, 1941: "Letter from Medcraft to you—you know, the California man who wants my books, also an original, but don't believe in my socialistic-Communist ideas. I opened it by mistake and he wants the books sent COD inscribed—and I'm attending to the job today. . . . I'm hoping and praying that I can be as fortunate as old Elijah again this winter and get fed by the ravens, although I'm always looking out for ways and means to get transactions going that will amount to some money. Agent writes that someone else is looking at my house—no rent, no sale—but I try as you suggest not to worry."

March 11, 1940, Mt. Pocono, Pa.: "In spite of the blessed sun pouring in my window and other reasons for being undisturbed and a fortunate among men—all day I've had one of those spells. It makes me mad to think I can't rise above them. I glance at a headline or hear a fragment of conversation or other manifestation that seems to me to reveal ignorance and I am hurt. . . . I must rise above it all and try not to take so much of world woe into my poor mind. . . . Shaw at eighty-three laughing at the ignorance of men. Why can't I? Goya was old and deaf—what's the matter with me? Maybe I magnify too much. Enclosed article about Flaubert which is something like my case. These references to the big shots of arts and letters are just for my own comfort and determination to withstand my drawbacks, *but improve*. Word from Bethel—the icestorm broke a big limb off the spruce, and an old apple tree gave up.

"I wrote a short introduction to the anticipated book of *Types*. What's in the offing no one knows. My publisher is having his trouble. . . ." (This alludes to a book on small town types written and illustrated by himself which to date has not appeared. Wilson said that Art Young wrote with a profound sympathy for all of them, even the village drunkard and halfwit.)

Sept. 1, 1939, Bethel (speaking of a contemplated visit from Wilson): ". . . We have so much in common to work at . . . but you of course now understand my limitations for enterprises and initiative at seventy-four, and my nervous peculiars. If I could clear up my main

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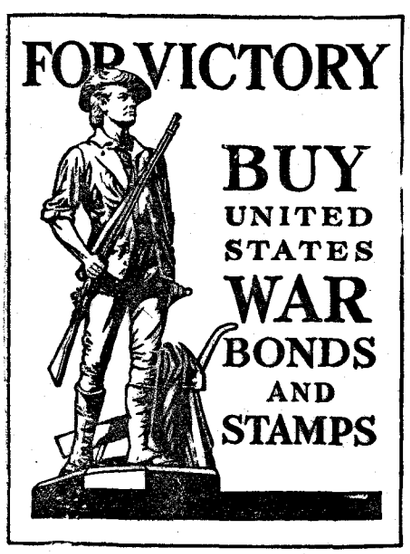

worries (I accept little ones) might live to be ninety—and active.

"This letter is written on my thirty-five-year-old stationery [acquired] when I was trying to be dignified.

"I'll welcome you with open arms." A postscript was scribbled at one side in pencil: "It would be fine if we had a typewriter here."

Feb. 4, 1938, Danbury (alluding to a mouth operation): "It was successful. I parted with two teeth that have stood by me since childhood. Like all revolutionary movements the old and decayed had to go. Now (also like the aftermath of revolutionary movements) I'm feeling better, but may have to live on mush—till the new plan is developed on the upper and lower jaw."

April 13, 1939, Danbury: "Just came from oculist where I went to see about the [here three lines of waves are drawn] flickering eyesight, especially mornings. . . . So I go floundering through life like all of us humans—guessing and hoping for the best."

April 20, 1939, Danbury: "My financial resources get so low—I feel like one who is gasping for breath—and now I'm not sure about renting the place. But—still hoping. . . . This is just to let you know I received your letter—and life goes on, with a few signs of spring." (Here he drew a bough and birds.)

March 6, 1939, Danbury: "Went to NY for a day. Decided not to stay over and get involved in engagements. Didn't even go to my exhibition now on at ACA. Have read about it in *New Yorker*, *Herald Tribune*, and others—but I feel that my work is not so much for promotion by myself—but it's up to others and what's called the public. . . . I understand the artists' congress for May has been postponed. Maybe you can come this way regardless. Anyway, we ought to have one of those crying-laughs together over the world's broken pitcher of the milk of human kindness. But in the long run things will be adjusted and the new era will gain momentum."

Aug. 23, 1939, Bethel: "The old pine stands majestically, after your good trimming."

Nov. 1, 1939: "It seems to me that you ought to get back to your work—panels, single canvases, any kind of pictures. You are becoming too introspective. Turning your troubles over and over and looking at them discouragingly will not help. After all you are just beginning. There is some sense in an old man contemplating his failures—and wishing he had accomplished more, but not you."

Jan. 18, 1940, Mt. Pocono, Pa.: "The sun is out today breaking a lot of storm.

"I know I should expect counter-revolutions in my interior. Last night the pain around my heart kept me awake. The doctor says it's nothing to alarm me—the gaseous poisons asserting their right to exist."

Jan. 24, 1938, Danbury: "The book is being rounded up, but, my gawd, what a job. I swear I'll never write another book or write anything but letters now and then to such as you who have been so considerate and helpful—and even these letters will have to be short, for I *must* get at my drawing." Across the side of this letter was scrawled: "Best to Sherwood Anderson—literary pioneer."

April 4, 1942, New York: "I open letters cautiously expecting that maybe something will develop that will cancel the sale of the old home—and yet, if I sell, how long can I exist on the proceeds? I must get my rent reduced *someway somehow*. I am so much oriented to this Gramercy Park section I'm spoiled for a change."

From Art Young's Friends

Tributes and remembrances from those who knew and loved him.

THERE was a warm friendliness about the memorial mass meeting held for Art Young under NEW MASSES auspices the night of January 27. It had that quality of simplicity which, as Rockwell Kent said, characterized Art Young. It was an evening in which the writers and artists who had loved the great cartoonist and leader, and learned so much from him, and never got ahead of him—he was always abreast with the youngest, someone said—met with the people for whom his cartoons were drawn, some 2,000 of them. It was not an occasion for mourning Art Young, as Joseph North said in opening the meeting. Actually it recalled Art Young's sense of gaiety and joy of life, mixed as it was with some poignancy. His brother, William Young, said later, "Art would have liked this kind of memorial." It was an evening of song and laughter, when men and women in the galleries stood and craned necks not to miss a bit of the dances of Jane Dudley,

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Sophie Maslow, and William Bales, of the Martha Graham group, and chuckled when Earl Browder observed how unsuccessful were the great conservative organs of public opinion in trying to make Art Young respectable now that he had died. Art Young, who, he said, forever aimed his devastating darts at the smug and respectable. Those who said Art never hated, lied, said Donald Ogden Stewart. It was Art Young the fighter, the leader on the road to fulfillment of Teheran, who was living that evening when his friends met to honor him—the artist who in the words of Mother Bloor was engrossed in today and tomorrow.

This, too, was emphasized by his newest friends—young Howard Fast, the historian, and Langston Hughes, who read some of his poems Art Young had talked to him about. One of the richest parts of the evening was the talk by the cartoonist's brother.

Among the artists and writers there to pay tribute to their friend were: Van Wyck Brooks, Gilbert Wilson, Adolph Dehn, Robert Minor, Peggy Bacon, Wanda Gag, Maurice Becker, H. Glintenkamp, Max Pollikoff, who played the violin, and Elie Siegmeister, who played some of his recent music, Hugo Gellert, Julien Levi, Raphael and Moses Soyer, David Burliuk, Rollin Kirby, Crockett Johnson, Eitaro Ishigaki, Sol Wilson, Alex Dobkin, John Groth, Fred Ellis, Isabel Bishop, Nikolai Cikofsky, Abe Ajay, Ad Reinhardt, Lynd Ward, Esteban Soriano, Minna Citron, Chuzo Tamotzu, Alfred Kreymborg, Max Weber, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Wires from Freda Kirchwey and David Low, the famed British cartoonist, and a letter from the artist's son, Don Young, a sergeant in the Army, were read. Others who sponsored the meeting could not come east to attend—Carl Sandburg, Ernest Hemingway, and Walt Disney.

Reminiscences of Art Young were published in last week's issue of NEW MASSES, and more are printed here.

Helen Keller

IT WAS in 1917 that my teacher and I first met Art Young at our Forest Hills home. He was a guest whom Anne Sullivan Macy especially welcomed. Her many-faceted personality was an open book to him. Then his delightful kindliness, humor, sudden whims, sincerity, and the dreams of beauty hovering round his fighting citadel endeared him to her kindred spirit.

At a time when reaction was riding roughshod over the earth and throttling those who protested against the betrayal of the people's aspiration to genuine liberty by the capitalist empires, Art Young was emerging from his trial for anti-war charges a gentle yet formidable Samson, and I recall the gay courage with which he defied any power to muzzle the thunder and lightning of his art. It was a marvel how many truths he packed into pictures which opened blind eyes to our community of fate and interest with the downtrodden and the toilers of the world.

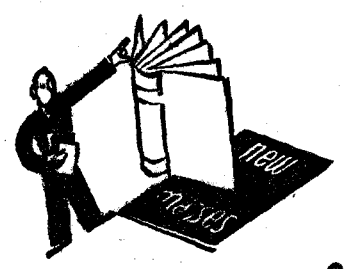
Some of Art Young's drawings were embossed for me, and I sensed vividly the highly individual and forceful manner in which he presented with the brush ideas that he hoped would serve as a ferment in American economic philosophy. My fingers could appreciate his pictorial power in uncovering hell and its network of race prejudice and enslavement.

A year never passed during which I was not thrilled by his inventiveness in devising themes that provoked wide discussion and pushed further the painfully slow campaign of education in true freedom among the working people. Little by little the pillars loosened at which his Samson hatred of oppression tugged, and it is devoutly to be hoped that his death has left them irrevocably sagging to their downfall. There is no calculating the might of patient efforts like his which quietly root themselves in the granite of tyranny and crumble it into life-giving soil.

Besides the keen-eyed radical and uncompromising idealist there was another aspect of Art Young I knew—his brimming joy in all things friendly and wholesome, all things that foster song, laughter, and poetry. He said the song of a bird or a burst of morning-glories at this door or a sparkle of dew-wet verdure was enough to crowd new ideas into his day, and evening peace flooded his imagination with fantastic beckoning forms in the trees around him. In all moods, places, and activities he sought to make his labors a telling force in a future that would enable everyone with a special gift or genius to achieve a nobler civilization.

Ella Reeve Bloor

JUST brief weeks ago this afternoon, Art Young spent four hours with me. They were wonderful hours—not just delving back into the past history of the socialist movement—but cheerful, sane talk of the present and future life, and work to be accomplished. He seemed ready to live years more of useful, happy living. On the twenty-ninth day of December he mailed me one of his unique postcards, Art himself toiling up a big hill with all kinds of war birds and "blitzkrieg" around him. The card is inscribed underneath, "It's a long road, but now we are getting somewhere." Art Young then added in red ink, "Special to Ella—Art." This card was mailed on the twenty-ninth. I received it on December 30. That evening, I picked up a New York paper brought in by



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Helen's boy, Dan Ware C., who had just arrived. Reading it casually, I saw the headlines: "Art Young, noted artist—died suddenly." And it was really just such a shock as one gets when a beloved brother dies. Art had been through many hard places in the "road" with me, and our "comradeship" of so many years is even closer than a family. It *is our family*. Many incidents came to me in the darkness of that night. One I hadn't thought of for a long time. When I was in hiding in New York City re the Bridgeman case, one evening, the utter loneliness of my situation drove me out of the furnished room I occupied, to a little restaurant on Fourteenth Street. There, almost alone in the place sat Art Young, a lonely soul too; in spite of all his cheeriness one who really knew him discovered his need of companionship. He really *loved* people, like our mutual friends, Gene Debs, Horace Traubel—Whitman's disciple—Fred Long, and a few others, close and understanding. Now, all of these comrades have passed out of life and we must keep their memories green, paying more attention to the young people—the new generation; that was the strong point in the character of Art Young. During that last afternoon together, we both discussed very happily a young man who had come into our lives just recently, the author of *Citizen Tom Paine*, Howard Fast. We both felt that the people's culture would be enriched by this young man in many years to come. He is animated by the great feeling Gorky expressed so often: "The people must know *their* history." Acting on this great purpose, he is preparing truthful inspiring histories of the great men who *have* helped and led the *people* of our country. Hours spent with this young writer inspired and cheered Art Young just as they helped me over a hard spot of illness recently; and now we can buckle down to work harder than ever. Art Young is still in our *lives*. His *work* remains. We just have to close our ranks, get a little closer with more *understanding* love and when the history of the "people's culture" of America is written, Art Young's name will shine very brightly. Because of his great talent in illustrating the struggles of the people against fascism in all its forms—not only in art forms, but also in humorous understanding words—he will be understood and loved by the youth of the future, and we older ones, in spite of loneliness and misunderstanding, shall work a little harder to win the war. The word "remember" was also on Art's card. Yes, we will remember and translate that memory into action.

Pauline Chandler

THE sudden death of the well known, grand old man, Art Young, shocked me deeply. I had the honor to know him and to wait on him for many years. I served him his dinner Tuesday evening, December 28. As a waitress in my father's restaurant [the Starlight] I met hundreds, yes, thousands of men and women of all walks of life, but I have never met so interesting, pleasant, and admirable a character as Art Young!

For the past eight years Art was our dinner customer two and three times a week. When he didn't have company with him, he was always the last customer to leave the place. Those were the nights that I would spend one and two hours sitting with him discussing the present war in Russia, China, the Pacific, Italy, and in Yugoslavia.

Art knew my husband who is now fighting on the Pacific Front, and my only brother who is also on the front fighting the Nazis in Italy. He never failed to inquire about both of them, when I heard from them last, and always sent his very best regards to them. Once he asked me: "Pauline, how do you, as a young American-born woman, feel about this war and about your husband and brother being on the front fighting?" I told Art that I was proud of my husband and brother fighting the barbarian Japanese and the German fascists. That this war is a different war from the first World War, and that we should concentrate all of our energy on the home front and support our Commander-in-Chief, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

At another time he told me, "I am glad and happy that I didn't fall in the gutter like those so-called 'Socialists'—Kahn, Thomas, Waldman, Dubinsky, and the rest of those Red-baiters who fought against Russia from the very first day of its liberation till this day. To me, Pauline, it looks as though these people are really corrupt to the core. If it were not for Russia and her glorious Red Army, the entire world would be in slavery under brutal terror of the fascists."

He knew that I come from Yugoslav parents, and many times we discussed the fight between the People's Army and the Chetniks. We both agreed that Marshal Tito was the real leader and liberator of the Yugoslav people and that General Mikhailovich was a quisling and a traitor.

I miss the great lover of common man, that Grand Old Man—Art Young!

Maurice Becker

ART YOUNG was born in the Middle West, in what is known as the Wisconsin cheese belt. He lived and worked most of his life and died in New York in what might be called the coat, vest, and pants belt. The lesson he preached in his cartoons all his long life was the need for workers to fashion a great international world-wide belt.

On the eve of the great muckraking period, Art Young was a student in the Cooper Union debating class. I, a Wall

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Street broker's clerk, used to spend my Saturday nights of dissipation there. One of the brilliant debaters who came off with first prize at the term's end was this blondish Art Young, a bit older than most of the class. Despite a tendency to roundness, his features and wavy hair gave him a leonine appearance which comported well with a springy step and athletic bearing.

We all knew that he was an artist for *Puck* and *Judge*, but I for one saw him headed straight for the Senate, a champion of the common man; for had he not taken the affirmation on questions like "Shall Senators be elected by direct vote of the people?" and "Shall there be government inspection of meat plants?" Upton Sinclair, having just roused the nation with his *Jungle*, led us into the era of the great muckrakers. Lincoln Steffens came along with *The Shame of the Cities*, another with *The Treason of the Senate*, and the late Ida Tarbell was to puncture John D. Rockefeller's oil pipes and release a gusher of scandal that drenched the world.

That blond debater was certainly going to be in the thick of things. Well, many millions over the world know what a grand fight he fought since those days. But he fought the enemy with pictures rather than words. Art himself has told us why he learned to debate. He wanted to be able to out-argue those editors who would gyp him out of a decent rate of pay for his cartoons!

By the time Art Young, John Sloan, Alice and Charles Winter, Glintenkamp, I and others founded the *Masses* and Art got into his stride as a great labor cartoonist there was little arguing to do about money. Then, as today, all such papers—gosh—there are only two in this wide land! the other's the *Daily Worker*—existed mainly on the confidence of their readers. And that faith has proved justified as readers time and again came through just as the sheriff was about to take over. Not until the eve of World War I did we ever draw a penny for our cartoons. The circulation having jumped to 60,000, I once got fifteen dollars for a double page.

Lavish with a glowing kindliness himself, Art naturally liked kindly people. But that "be kind to grandad" attitude some felt toward him must have proved a bit irksome. He once said to Glenn Coleman and me: "Why I feel like you fellows," as he recounted his objection to joining a comfortable old man's club. On another occasion at a party he revealed that even in the early days he resented any hint that he wasn't as youthful or fiery as the rest. Glintenkamp was with me when Art, turning to some friends, said, "You know folks, these boys thought me perhaps a bit tame and altogether a comfortable bouzhwah! Maurice once brought in a drawing of a mob carrying bourbons' heads on spikes recalling scenes from the French Revolution."

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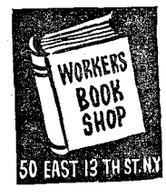

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JANUARY 14-31

If the gentle spirit of Art hovering over these pages will attend, I'll now give the low-down on all that. You may have looked the comfortable bourgeois, dear Art, and we hoped you were as comfortable as you looked, but we never thought you tame. We envied you your poise, that leisurely air so at odds with these high pressure times, your good humor and your American wit, not forgetting your ability at the drop of a hat to assume the pose and deliver the speech of the bombastic southern senator. And who can forget your impersonation of the German Socialist comrade making a speech at a meeting with his words seeming to fight their way out of a mouthful of sauerkraut?

Universally acclaimed cartoonist that he was, Art Young had his only one-man show in 1939. At the ACA Gallery only two small drawings went to working class purchasers. These truly gave him a "rich and lively tribute" in his lifetime. Art Young would have been a favorite with Tolstoy, for the great Russian admired most that artist whose idea made itself intelligible to the simplest understanding. And in this land of vast economic illiteracy, Art Young was a great teacher. The following little story of Art's also might have pleased Tolstoy. Art, honorary president of the Artists League of America, told it at the last meeting a few short weeks ago:

Little Johnny sat down to make a drawing. He told his mother it was to be a picture of God. His surprised mother said it couldn't be done because no one had ever seen God, and therefore no one knew what he was like.

"They'll know when I get through with Him," said Johnny.

Art believed that Michaelangelo, Raphael, and the others did a swell job "advertising religion," picturing God and heaven as they did. Now the face of the common people and their struggle for an earthly paradise should be the concern of today's artists.

The following lines of Hawthorne come to mind: "It is very singular, how the fact of a man's death gives people a truer idea of his character, whether good or evil, than they have ever possessed while he was living and acting among them. Death is so genuine a fact that it excludes falsehood or betrays its emptiness; it is a touchstone that proves the gold and dishonors the baser metal."

I feel certain as we all do that the fine gold that was Art Young will gain in luster as the years roll on.

Walter De Mott

TO HAVE Art Young as a dinner or breakfast companion was like visiting with Santa Claus. He always had his bag of tricks. The pleasure of sharing his vast storehouse of mental treasures and memories with his friends and neighbors was as breath to his nostrils. This was only one of the rewards in store for those who had the privilege of sharing his company.

I met Art through the genial Gilbert Wilson, whose friendship with Art Young will doubtless be remembered by posterity in the same manner as that of Boswell and Johnson. Like the great Dunninger, Gilbert could divine exactly what Art was doing. To him, Art was a great human institution that needed preservation, and woe betide any individual, or even Art himself, who in any way clogged the wheels of progress.

Art's health in later years reduced him to two meals a day—a breakfast about 11:00 AM and dinner about 6:30 PM. With the precision of a striking clock, rain or shine, hot or cold, he would descend the Hotel Irving steps about 10:30 AM. To Art the longest way around was the sweetest way, and like a modern St. Francis of Assissi he sauntered through the avenues and streets he knew so well.

As a disciple of the Hay diet, Art could expound it like an Eagle Scout giving the Scout law. However, he would dawdle over meat and fish dishes, giving an impression of compromise, but end up with a vegetable plate, milk, scrambled eggs and whole wheat bread. Art enjoyed eating and so did I, and during the actual eating of lunch or dinner a monastic silence prevailed. But as soon as Art placed his cigar in his mouth and started digging for matches, pushing his chair sidewise, and crossing his legs, a stream of conversation would commence, and Art would talk of all sorts of things.

Dinner was a more leisurely affair. Art liked variety and used to indulge in Armenian and Chinese applications of the Hay diet, but he always returned eventually to the scene of the first love of his aging years, the Starlight restaurant, where O. Henry used to live and where Art often enjoyed the hospitality of his friend. The owner, a countryman of the great Tito, held Art in reverence. It was here that Art would bring sketches and ideas for his drawing to show his friends. It was my good fortune to discuss with him the last three New Year's greeting cards, and his last, Alpha and Omega of all his postcards, found this place as a forum for its discussion. It was from this atmosphere of kind hearts and loving friends that Art bid his last farewells before leaving the world for which he had such great hopes.

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CHEKHOV'S BOWL OF CHERRIES

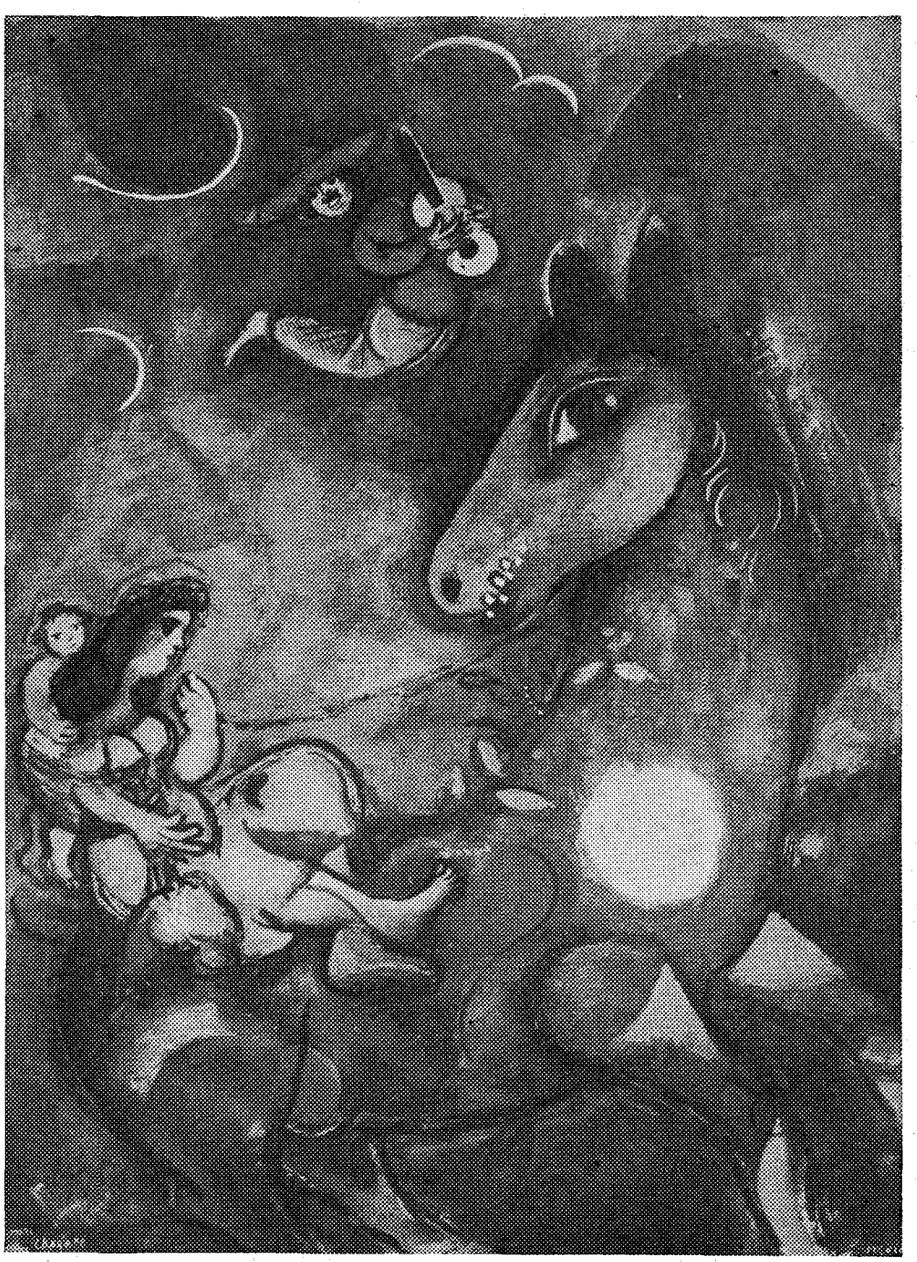
"A work of art in a glass case . . . Nothing we can touch, nothing we can feel . . . nothing that now plays any part in our own lives." Reviewed by Harry Taylor.

Eva Le Gallienne and Margaret Webster jointly staged this latest revival of Chekhov's most famous comedy. The result is a delicate symphonic interplay of sights and sounds and movement which, though pleasant, is nevertheless too remote to extend across the footlights. I don't think the directors are at fault. I think they understood the play and were admirably creative in its presentation. It is simply that it is a museum piece: we are at all times aware that its time is irrevocably past and that its situations and characters have no counterpart of existence whether in the Soviet Union or in our own experience.

It suffers also from the fact that its inner contradictions prevent the engagement of our sympathies with any one of its people. No matter how helpless and charming they may be, we cannot feel sorry for the traditional owners of the estate when after a period which includes slavery, incompetence, and complete parasitism, they lose their home. We cannot rejoice with the greedy, brutal peasant who finally achieves his dream of possessing the orchard. And as for the student who voices the author's jeremiad on the Russia of that day and evokes the vision of a new Russia, a giant land inhabited by a giant people, Chekhov makes of him another talker and finally reveals him as a twenty-seven year-old adolescent.

This is not to deny Chekhov's role as both a critic of his society and a prophet projecting the need for change then gathering into the dynamic of revolution. And though I can understand why the people of the Soviet Union love *The Cherry Orchard*, nevertheless to us here it must seem like a work of art in a glass case: beautifully executed, but nothing we can touch, nothing we can feel, and nothing that now plays any part in our lives. The faint music of decay is in our ears and we observe the phantoms floating in and out of our view not only separated from us but abnormally self-absorbed and detached from each other by the disintegrating factors of their world. And since Chekhov also consciously describes their emotions and attitudes as arising within the particular class patterns of his scene, these emotions appear to us archaic and thus fail to reach us. Finally, the exhibit seems even more distant the moment we remember the magnificent social-mindedness and indivisibility of today's Russians and their mighty effectiveness on the world stage. Simply, the conditions, characters, and mores of *The Cherry Orchard* no longer exist.

The occasion at the National returns Le Gallienne to a part she has always loved and done well, that of Lyubov Andreyevna, the owner of the orchard, giddy, extravagant, sentimental, self-pitying, and wholly incapable of facing reality. As her brother, Joseph Schildkraut is the very incarnation of the sad ectoplasmic being who wanders through the play, only too well aware of his immaterial composition. The old valet who believes that the emancipation



"Le cheval de la lune," by Marc Chagall.

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of the serfs was Russia's greatest calamity, is played with beautiful timing and sensitivity by America's oldest actor, A. G. Andrews. Eduard Franz is the intensely proud and unhappy student. Katherine Emery invests part of the adopted daughter with possibly the only aura of the pathetic in the play, realizing interestingly the psychological conflict in this drab character. In the comedy parts, Carl Benton Reid plays a horse of an old peasant with broad gusto; Virginia Campbell is gay as the foolish maid who apes her mistress, Rex O'Malley does a stylized clown in an amusingly wooden manner; and Leona Roberts makes the part of the governess seem possessed. Lois Hall is decorative as the young daughter who, like the student whom she admires, hates the orchard. Acting honors, however, should go to Stefan Schnabel in the role of the triumphant peasant. Schnabel displays great vigor, arresting pantomimic invention, and power of extension.

The production was adequately designed by Motley. The use of background music was often too obviously employed.

This is probably as good a production as we are likely to have for many years. If, therefore, you have never seen the play, this is your opportunity to do so. And perhaps you won't at all agree with my judgment of it.

HARRY TAYLOR.

GI Joes in Music

"JACKPOT," the current Vinton Freedley musical, is being touted by its supporters as a win-the-war show. That is so much puddlewater. Any production, to earn that distinction, must at least *say* something about the war, and in this respect, *Jackpot* says about as much as Music Hall's pony line doing a military routine. Not only does this opus lack good war material—it even fails to escape the limits of pat musical shows. All of which inspires the unhappy thought that the producers of musicals are perhaps the least original of all theatrical showmen. There are startling exceptions, of course, and such items as *Of Thee We Sing*, *Pal Joey*, *Oklahoma*, and *Winged Victory* came readily to mind. And it is not unreasonable to hope that revue producers will some day discover that there are other things in the world besides poolroom japeries concerning the female body.

Take *Jackpot*, for instance. The plot, such as it is, is adequate—its purpose being to get the company close enough to an Army base to involve it in the book. Along the road of adjustment by which American boys became GI Joes, there is much salty humor, animal spirit, healthy comedy. Army papers like *Yank* are full of freshly minted language, new references, and allusions; in short, a different pattern of living based on Army life. But it all never happened so far as *Jackpot* is concerned.

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Instead, we get the sort of scenes that used to clutter up the vaudeville stages. The comedy is based on the bedroom-and-bathroom stuff delivered with the sly "poke-in the-rib" technique. Comics Benny Baker and Jerry Lester are much funnier when they are free of the book and fall back on their facial expressions and other native endowments. Unfortunately the low-jinks of the action is unrelieved by either the dancing, the music, or the lyrics.

However, *Jackpot* is not without interest. The three female principals are really big league. If the show is doing business, as I hear it is, then it is probably due to Betty Garrett's singing "Sugar Foot," the one good number in the show, and to her charm and beautiful stage manner, as well as to the labors of attractive Nanette Fabray and ingratiating Mary Wickes. The romantic lead is supplied by Allan Jones, who has the necessary voice and profile required by the part. JOSEPH FOSTER.

People's School

(*Continued from page* 14)

groups, unions, or parties. They are clearly related to labor's growing independent political action in conjunction with progressive forces among all elements of our population. Such independent political action requires independent education as well as the people's mastery of all fields and media of culture. These schools are an indispensable supplement to our whole system of public education and to the great private institutions with their large endowments. Their development has shown that they can be nearly self-supporting, once they are solidly established. One great and crying need still has to be filled—that of correspondence courses along the lines of the work done in these schools for the vast audience in cities, towns, and rural areas where no such facilities are available. One of these new schools should meet this need, or else a special correspondence school should be established that could utilize course materials and personnel from existing institutions.

We of the Jefferson School believe that this rapid, spontaneous, and independent organization of these adult schools is symbolic of the general social and political awakening of the American people under the stress of the world situation and the United Nations' war against the Axis. We believe, further, that they can and will make a significant contribution to the fulfillment by the United States of its share of the duty solemnly pledged at Teheran "to make a peace which will command good will from the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations."

HOWARD SELSAM.

Dr. Selsam is director of the new Jefferson School of Social Science, which opens February 14. Registration is now in progress.

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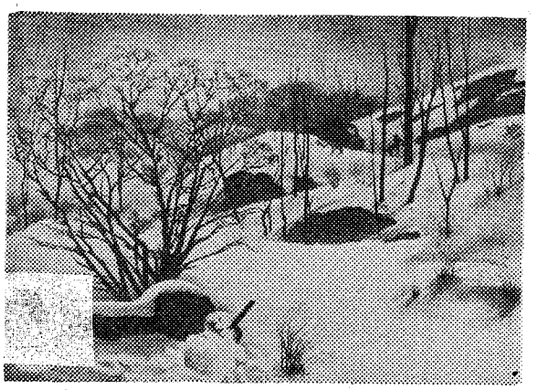

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